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**POST**  
Green Bay  
JUGGERNAUT ROLLS  
ON  
It's All in the  
WORLD OF SPORT  
**TODAY**

INSIDE  
EIGHT PAGES  
FROM SUNDAY'S  
**The New York Times**  
WEEKLY REVIEW

**Report: Syria failed to pass anti-Israel ultimatum**  
DAVID MAKOVSKY and HILLEL KUTTLER

SYRIA was outvoted by a coalition of moderate Arab states in its bid to issue an ultimatum to Israel, saying the multilateral talks on regional issues would stop unless there is progress in the peace process. United Press International reported in Cairo yesterday.

The report cited Arab League sources, interviewed after a meeting of Arab foreign ministers in the Egyptian capital over the weekend.

US special Middle East peace coordinator Dennis Ross is expected to arrive in Cairo today to discuss regional developments, including the status of the regional economic summit scheduled for Cairo in November, with top Egyptian officials.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said yesterday he completely rejects Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's statement that Egypt will sustain the greatest harm from postponing or canceling the conference. It is Netanyahu who would suffer the most if it is cancelled or postponed due to a lack of progress in the peace talks, Mubarak said.

Mubarak told Channel 2 yesterday that Netanyahu's "do-nothing politics" endanger regional security and confuse him, since Netanyahu had promised he would advance the peace process.

Ross is expected to arrive in Israel tomorrow to brief Netanyahu on his talks in Egypt, as well as discuss Palestinian-related issues. It remains unclear whether Ross will visit Damascus on this trip.

US Ambassador Martin Indyk held preparatory talks with Netanyahu in advance of the Ross visit. There is speculation, but not confirmation, that the US would like to see Israeli gestures on the Palestinian track.

According to UPI, Syria was supported on its resolution on the multilaterals by the Palestinian Authority, Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Sudan, and Yemen.

Opposing the Syrians were Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.

(Continued on Page 9)



Police clash yesterday with Hebron residents demanding that Israel allow them to open 20 shops in the city's market. (Khaled Zagher)

## Hebron residents, IDF clash over demand to reopen market

ABOUT 200 Hebron merchants, notables, and activists demonstrated at the wholesale market yesterday demanding that Israel open 20 shops and fulfill other assurances made in last year's Oslo 2 agreement.

The wholesale market, next to the Jewish Avraham Avinu quarter, has been closed since the Machpela Cave massacre 30 months ago for fear of Arab revenge attacks against Jews who pass there.

The Oslo 2 accord signed last September 28 in Washington promised that "immediately after the signing of this agreement" and before

the IDF redeployment certain measures would be taken to ease commerce and movement in Hebron.

The first promise on the list was to reopen the wholesale market and to allow the shops to open for retail trade.

"Open the market. This is not a demand it is a right," said one placard waved by a demonstrator.

Settlers held a counter-demonstration with

placards saying the market "is built on land stolen from Jews" massacred in 1929.

Both sides took advantage of the protest to press their larger claims on Hebron, with Arabs saying the protests would increase until the IDF redeployments and Palestinian Police replace them in 85 percent of the town. Settlers said the protest showed how little security they would have if the IDF redeployed, although that area is to remain under sole IDF control.

The IDF quickly dispersed the protesters without incident, after military governor Col. (Continued on Page 2)

JON IMMANUEL

## 50,000 Palestinian workers to be allowed in

THE number of Palestinians allowed to work in Israel is being increased from 32,000 to 50,000, Finance Minister Dan Meridor said yesterday.

The decision was announced following the first meeting of the Joint Economic Council since the May elections, with the Palestinian team being led by PA Economy, Trade, and Industry Minister Maher Masri.

"The situation in the territories is horrendous," said Masri, who added he will only be satisfied when the closure is lifted completely.

Over the last two weeks, an additional 5,000 workers have been allowed in, bringing the total to 37,000, and the number is expected to reach 50,000 in the coming weeks. At that point,

DAVID HARRIS

Meridor said, additional permits would probably be linked to plans to reduce the number of foreign workers, currently estimated at 200,000.

Yesterday's talks centered on three main areas: the closure's effect on the Palestinian economy and population; the movement of workers, businessmen, and goods; and financial dealings between Israel and the PA.

Several working groups will be set up to investigate a series of complaints from both parties, and to examine possible ways to encourage greater cooperation.

The committees will also look at ways to allow Palestinian businessmen greater freedom of movement.

"It's all well and good for a West Bank businessman to be allowed to operate in Tel Aviv, and yet be refused entry to Gaza," said Masri.

Both the PA and Israeli government claim the other has outstanding debts. Israeli institutions demanding repayment include Bezeq and Hadassah-University Hospital, Meridor said.

One of the teams will check the possibility of allowing Palestinian wholesalers and merchants to use Israeli importers.

Masri also called for the direct passage of goods between Gaza and the West Bank.

"No side roads," he said. "We don't want them to go to Tel Aviv or Haifa or anywhere. We want a road that links the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

## Back to square one

THE decision to raise the number of Palestinian workers to 50,000 means that the new government is reversing its predecessor's successful disengagement of the Israeli employer from his cheap Palestinian labor.

Thirty years ago, Israel had virtually no foreign labor. The phenomenon, which has since become a permanent fixture of our economic landscape, was generated haphazardly by the Six Day War, which resulted in both accelerated growth and an ample supply of unskilled Palestinian labor.

Back then, defense minister Moshe Dayan believed the Palestinians' employment in Israel would contribute to stability in the short term, and to reconciliation in the long run. Hence his decision to allow full worker traffic across the Green Line.

Two decades later, the intifada erupted and Dayan's vision was discovered to be as short-sighted as his military arrogance, which resulted in the Yom Kippur War.

Dayan's concoction was economically counter-productive - it encouraged entire industries to cling to labor-intensive methods - and politically destructive, since it led Israelis and Palestinians to constantly mingle in a hierarchical setting, in which Palestinians would wash dishes, lay bricks, or sweep floors for Israeli employers. Such upstairs-downstairs coex-

COMMENT  
AMOTZ ASA-EL

istence can work when its protagonists belong to the same people, or when its economically inferior component is too weak to express the sense of national humiliation which such a relationship is bound to generate.

To prevent such social deformity, Israel should have allowed the Palestinians to develop their own economy in their towns and practice free professions in ours. Only then could the kind of social mobility which has cemented other multinational societies have created a basic framework here for economic, if not political stability.

The reversal of Dayan's policy, like his conception, came haphazardly, as repeated terrorist attacks

forced the government to keep Palestinian labor at bay. Now comes the reversal of that reversal, as an equally short-sighted shot from the hip, this time on the part of a cabinet alarmed by the replacement of Palestinian labor with foreign labor, and the closure's enhancement of the territories' detachment from Israel.

To truly transform the fatal attraction between a destitute Palestinian workforce and a cheap-labor thirsty Israeli economy, new industrial plants must first sprout outside Gaza, Nabulus, and Ramallah.

The government's decision yesterday means that a return to the pre-intifada levels of 100,000 unskilled Palestinian workers is only a matter of time. So too are the malignant friction, hatred, and violence it will ultimately produce.

## US cautions Syria, Israel to act with restraint

### PM: We are not complacent

DAVID MAKOVSKY and ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

THE US is urging both Syria and Israel to act with restraint and not miscalculate in a way that could escalate tension, due to the recent troop movements in Lebanon and around the Golan, sources indicated yesterday.

The sources suggested that Washington seems particularly concerned that a flare-up of tension between Syria and Israel now could only complicate its efforts to win Arab support for its efforts to deal with Iraq.

The Syrian News Agency reported that President Bill Clinton sent a letter to Syrian President Hafez Assad in the last few days. Officials in the Prime Minister's Office insist the letter dealt with his deep concern that any hostilities against Israel could provoke regional instability.

While there was no letter from the US to Israel, a verbal message of restraint is believed to have been delivered during a meeting yesterday between Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk, which was attended by top aides.

Last week, during a visit to France, Foreign Minister David Levy passed a message via Foreign Minister Herve de Charette urging Syrian restraint.

Senior officials say US and Israeli military intelligence have been working very closely together in the last few days to determine the character of the Syrian deployment of troops on the Syrian side of Mt. Hermon, as well as the move of one division, or 10,000 troops, from Beirut to the Bekaa Valley.

It remains unclear whether the Syrian move is tied to internal developments in Lebanon, or represents a move to politically pressure Israel.

"We do not know anything with any sense of certainty," one official in the Prime Minister's Office said. "I personally think it is tied to internal Lebanese developments."

"In the last few days there has not been any special [Syrian] movement, but we are following anything that develops on the northern front," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told reporters.

"Although there is no reason for special concern, we are not complacent," he said. "We are monitoring all the moves while continuing..."

(Continued on Page 2)

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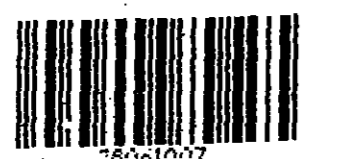
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# Zandberg threatens to submit Golan bill over gov't objections

MK Eliezer Zandberg (Tsomet) said yesterday he intends to submit his party's Golan Heights Bill to the Knesset in the near future, even though the ministerial committee on legislation opposes it.

Zandberg's bill, similar to one which failed by a single vote in the last Knesset, calls for a parliamentary majority of 80 MKs to approve any territorial concessions or changes in the status of the Golan Heights.

The committee did not explain its reasoning. Zandberg said he was "shocked" by the committee's failure to approve the bill, which last year was considered a linchpin in the then-opposition's policy. "It's one of the most cardinal issues. This was one of the things the government was elected on," he said.

Zandberg said he would submit

LIAT COLLINS

the bill anyway, as it is a part of Tsomet's platform and he owes it to the party's voters. Zandberg said he did not expect the Likud-led government to yield the Golan Heights "but it is impossible to predict what future governments would do and the coalition should use the opportunity ensure the law passes while it is still in power."

Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, who broke away from Labor to found the Third Way Party over the Golan Heights issue, said Zandberg's bill is "undemocratic" as it needs only 61 MKs to pass it but 80 MKs to change it.

The Third Way submitted its own bill on the matter before the Knesset dissolved for the summer recess. Under this bill, any territo-

rial concessions would require a 61 MK majority and approval in a public referendum. Kahalani said he expected the bill to receive the approval of the legislation committee and to be raised in the winter session, as per the coalition agreement.

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, who chairs the ministerial committee on legislation, said Zandberg's bill is more extreme than Kahalani's. He also said the government reserves the right to submit such legislation when it feels the time is right, rather than having it brought up as a private member's bill.

"The voter can trust us on the Golan Heights [issue]. And for sure it can trust us more than the previous government," Hanegbi told Israel Radio.



A soldier argues yesterday with a Palestinian businessman who wanted to drive his truck to Jerusalem on the recently opened road from Gush Etzion. Palestinians have been barred from using the new road. (AP)

# Golan residents express regret over delays in passing bill reinforcing Golan Law

DAVID RUDGE

THE Golan Residents Committee yesterday expressed regret over any delays in passing a bill to reinforce the Golan Law. The GRC said in a statement that a bill is an important factor in fortifying Israel's sovereignty over the Golan and a united Jerusalem.

The statement said the committee welcomed the initiatives of MK Eliezer Zandberg (Tsomet) and the Third Way party, but called on all interested elements to cooperate and support the bill with the best chance of passing in the Knesset.

GRC chairman Avi Zeira said the GRC is "somewhat concerned" by the Ministerial Law Committee's decision to oppose Zandberg's bill, which calls for a

majority of 80 MKs to change the current status of the Golan. Nevertheless, Zeira said he is confident that the Third Way's proposed bill would be submitted within the coming weeks and would be passed.

Under the terms of the Third Way's bill, any changes to the law relating to Jerusalem and the Golan would require the support of 61 MKs and over 50 percent of all those eligible to vote in the event of a referendum.

Zeira revealed that the committee is drawing up plans to lobby MKs and ensure that "all members of the coalition will support the bill."

Meanwhile, in another statement, the GRC charged that the "winds of aggression blowing from Damascus" indicate that Syria is not really interested in peace.

"This increases the importance of the Golan as the main barrier to a new war and as a vital asset to the security of the state," the statement said.

"The movements of Syrian forces are designed to put pressure on Israel aimed at dictating terms of surrender. The GRC fully backs the government's stance and denounces the opposition parties which are cooperating in Syria's psychological war in order to gain political capital," it added.

THERE is no reason to fear a Syrian attack or the collapse of the peace process, despite the opposition's panic-mongering, MK Uzi Landau (Likud), chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, said yesterday.

"I'm convinced [Arab] statements and acts are aimed at oiling the wheels of the negotiations," he said.

Regarding recent Syrian troop movements, he added, "Israel must not get too excited by such things, but just open its eyes and do everything possible from the military viewpoint to ensure we're not surprised."

MK Ehud Barak (Labor) accused Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu of endan-

gering relations with Washington and Arab states.

"There is room for the ordinary citizen to be worried," Barak told Israel Radio. "Netanyahu, in a few months, under the headline of a different approach, has succeeded in ruining our relations with the Arab world..."

"I... call on the prime minister to control his tongue and act responsibly."

Barak made the comments in part because of the Syrian troop movements in Lebanon and Syria that Israel is closely watching.

"It is not a situation without risks... It demands responsible behavior from the upper echelons, first of all from the prime

minister," he said.

Barak blasted Netanyahu's vow that he would risk ties with Washington if they conflict with what he perceives as the national interest. "Israel's security is more important than anything, but relations with the United States is one of the central pillars of Israel's security," Barak said. "Therefore any position that says those things contradict one another or could potentially contradict one another is damaging and a prophecy that could be self-fulfilling."

MK Dalia Itzik (Labor), meanwhile, called on Foreign Minister David Levy to make an effort to stop what she termed "the route of confrontation with the

Syrians" that she said Netanyahu is pursuing.

"When we hear threats and rhetoric from the prime minister on confrontation and escalation, the foreign minister can't leave the fate of the state to Netanyahu's chatter."

"At this time, when we again see that we cannot rely on a boastful and inexperienced prime minister, the foreign minister must get involved and extract Israel from the brink of war to which Binyamin Netanyahu is leading us."

The Prime Minister's Office responded to the Labor comments by saying Labor had taken Israel's security to an all-time low before it was ousted from power.

# Coalition calls for calm, as Labor slams PM's 'irresponsible' statements

LIAT COLLINS and Itim

# Syrian army movements designed to create tense atmosphere

DAVID RUDGE

THE prospect of Syria initiating a limited military action or even a war against Israel at this stage does not seem likely, according to Middle East expert Dr. Yossi Olmert.

Nevertheless, he stressed that Israel has to continue to keep a close eye on the situation and take the necessary precautions, especially if troop movements continue and the rhetoric emanating from Damascus becomes even more vitriolic.

Olmert noted that the redeployment of Syrian forces in Lebanon had been carried out publicly and over a relatively long period of time. This in itself indicates that the moves were designed more to relay a message than to prepare for a military operation, he said.

"Syrian President Hafez Assad has never been too adventurous. He's certainly not like [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein. He has, however, proved in the past

that when he sees a threat, he sends a message of Syrian preparedness and readiness to meet that threat," Olmert said.

According to Lebanese newspapers, between 10,000 and 20,000 Syrian troops have moved out of positions in strategic hilltop locations overlooking Beirut and from various parts of the Lebanese capital since the end of August.

According to the reports, these have been mainly infantry, including highly specialized commandos, as well as some mechanized, armor, and artillery units.

Most of the units have reportedly moved east to the Bekaa Valley, where the bulk of Syria's army in Lebanon is deployed, to southern parts of the Bekaa and nearer to Mt. Hermon, and back into Syria.

The fact that the moves took place before and during the Lebanese elections gave rise to speculation that it might have been a gesture to the Lebanon govern-

ment's sovereignty over Lebanon, and a defensive move on Syria's part in the event of any massive IDF retaliation for extreme actions by Hizbullah.

The Lebanese press noted that the moves came at the height of the war of words between Israel and Syria and could be seen in that respect.

There was also speculation, however, that the Syrians might belatedly be implementing the 1989 Taif accord, which called for the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Beirut after ensuring peace and quiet in Lebanon following the end of the 15-year-long civil war.

The fact that Syrian forces have moved out of buildings and areas of Beirut that are earmarked for reconstruction and renovation has been warmly welcomed by the pro-Syrian government and the population generally, especially in

the Lebanese capital.

Nevertheless, Syria has left behind some troops, as well as hundreds of undercover intelligence operatives, to keep a close eye on the population. Its soldiers are still well placed to curb any dissent against Syria's control of Lebanon.

The main aim behind the troop movements is still unclear, Olmert said.

"Do the Syrians want to mobilize the Arab world behind them after being somewhat isolated in the past few years; do they want to bring about a resumption of the peace talks; or do they, which I doubt very much, want to start a war?" Olmert asked.

"The main question is whether these army movements continue over the next week or so and are accompanied by even sharper rhetoric. If that happens and the tension continues, the dynamics of the situation would be very nega-

# PM urges Olmert to delay acting against illegal building

BILL HUTMAN

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday urged Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert to act with restraint when dealing with demolitions in east Jerusalem, because of the sensitivity to the subject shown by the Palestinians and the international community, government sources said.

The request was largely aimed at avoiding a showdown over the alleged illegal construction recently discovered next to Al-Aksa Mosque.

Netanyahu wants Olmert to hold off on taking action against the Waqf, the Moslem religious authority in charge of Al-Aksa, the sources said.

He also would like Olmert to delay demolishing an illegally constructed Palestinian home in the Old City, which was originally slated for demolition soon, the sources said.

One source said that in both cases, "there is no question that the construction is illegal. But the timing [for taking action] is not right." Another source said Olmert acted hastily on the Temple Mount construction, and should have tried to deal with the situation using "quieter channels."

The issue of demolitions was raised during a meeting between Netanyahu, Olmert, and other government and security officials.

They were presented with a report showing that some of the alleged illegal construction by the Waqf had halted. About 10 days ago, the Waqf was presented with a court order to halt all of the construction, on the grounds that it was being carried out without a permit.

Municipal sources said building inspectors would try to ascertain

whether the order was being obeyed.

Olmert also reported on plans to demolish a Moslem Quarter home in which a second floor was built without a permit and has been occupied.

He noted that the High Court recently rejected a petition against the planned demolition, finding that the floor was illegally built, and the city had the right to destroy it.

Olmert indicated that the city would go ahead with the demolition, but hoped that the residents would dismantle the illegal addition on their own in an effort to

save the building material and avoid additional fines.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

- Air force stops using soldiers as janitors**  
Soldiers were being used as chambermaids and janitors in hotel-type facilities maintained on various air force bases for the use of air force officers and occasional civilian guests, according to an Israel Radio report, broadcast yesterday.
- The investigation focused on a 41-room facility at the Hazetim air base near Beersheba. Each morning, soldiers would change the linens, towels, soap, and empty the garbage pails in these rooms, whether officers were staying there or civilian guests. The civilians were usually guests of families living at the base. As a result of the probe, OC Air Force Eitan Ben-Eliahu ordered that soldiers no longer be used to clean the rooms. *Itim*
- Boy, 7, killed by truck**  
Noam Ovadi, a seven-year-old Kfar Yona boy, was killed yesterday afternoon when he was hit by a truck while riding his bicycle. The accident occurred near his house, as he was riding on a road facing traffic. When the boy saw the truck, he tried to swerve off the road, but was hit by the truck's back wheels. *Itim*
- Rabbi Raphael Soloveitchik dies at 70**  
Rabbi Raphael Soloveitchik, the leader of the Brisk community of Lithuanian haredim, died yesterday at 70. He was scheduled to be buried in Jerusalem's Har Hamenuhot late last night.
- Soloveitchik came to the public's attention during the 1970s, when he led the battle against widespread autopsies here, and succeeded in sparking a worldwide campaign to pressure the government on the issue. Soloveitchik arrived here from Brisk, Lithuania, during World War II, and since then lived a modest existence in a small Mea She'arim apartment. Though he was consulted by haredi leaders on major issues, he generally chose not to get publicly involved in political matters. He is survived by his wife, daughter, and five grandchildren. *Itim*

## HEBRON

(Continued from Page 1)

Baruch Najjar agreed to meet with Mayor Mustafa Natshe, who led them. But a proposal by Najjar to build a wall alongside the shops to separate Arabs and Jews was rejected by Natshe as intrusive.

Palestinians maintain that the creation of a wall through the market also violates another part of the Oslo 2 agreement, which promises that "Hebron will continue to be one city and the division of security responsibility will not divide the city."

Ensuring that the issue of Hebron redeployment does not fade away, "protest will continue in coming weeks in different forms," Natshe said. "Perhaps we will invite Israeli peace lovers to join us."

Peace Now yesterday demand-

ed the immediate opening of the market.

Military sources attributed the timing of the protest to a settler attempt to take over two shops last week and the meeting of the Steering Committee negotiators this week.

Palestinians added that the protest was also meant to bolster the PA's influence in the city, which they told Najjar was weakening with each passing day of continued IDF control.

A statement attributed to Hamas claimed that "partial agreements have failed even in serving the minimum of promises made" and urged "armed popular resistance."

Reports last night indicated that PA Chairman Yasser Arafat is expected to meet with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai today or tomorrow.

We announce with deep sorrow the death of

**Prof. ANDRE DE-VRIES**

our beloved husband, father and grandfather

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Children: Tamar De-Vries Winter  
Ilan and Shlomit De-Vries  
David and Reilil De-Vries  
Grandchildren: Anna, Jonathan, Mia,  
Asaf, Talia, Ruti

The funeral will be held today, Tuesday, September 17, 1996, at 3:00 p.m. at the Kfar Vitkin-Hofit cemetery. We will meet at the gate.

## Knesset to meet today

LIAT COLLINS

THE Knesset is scheduled to meet in special session today, at the initiative of the Labor faction, to discuss the government's policy on the peace process. Labor Party leader Shimon Peres is expected to give the main speech.

Labor faction spokesman Yitzhak Rav-Yithey said the faction had called for the debate in the summer recess "because of the general lack of movement in the peace process."

"Unfortunately the government is all talk and no action. Even the meeting between [Prime Minister] Binyamin Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat was an empty gesture. The government wants to continue the way of the previous government under Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, but the new leadership gives no substance to it."

He said the Syrian issue is also likely to be raised.

Likud faction chairman Michael Eitan, who is also demanding a special debate, said Labor's changes over the Netanyahu-Arafat meeting and government policy "are pitiable and only go to show the depths to which Labor has fallen."

Eitan said Labor should have praised the meeting as an attempt to further the peace process while preserving the state's security interests.

"The criticism is apparently an effort to hide the personal feuding going on in Labor," Eitan said.

Netanyahu is not expected to speak in the plenum today, but will appear before the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi will answer on the government's behalf in the plenum.

## CAUTIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

using our attempts to resume peace talks with Syria."

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai confirmed that the Syrian army has been deploying in a "suspicious" manner along the Lebanon-Syria border, but urged Israeli officials to tone down any statements on the aim of the Syrian troop movements to avoid escalating tension.

Mordechai said IDF intelligence has been keenly following the Syrian redeployment.

"Apparently there is more than one reason on the Syrian side for the redeployment of forces. Some [reasons] we understand, and we are suspicious of others. So we are checking them and will con-

tinue to monitor them," Mordechai told reporters. "We will do our utmost so we are not surprised."

"In my opinion, there is no reason for any concern, and the IDF and defense establishment are taking the appropriate steps."

He advised officials to tone down talk about any Syrian intentions and warned the verbal escalation could "bring about a misunderstanding by one of the two sides."

He also called on the Syrians to renew negotiations and seek ways to reduce the tensions.

"We shall continue to monitor the movements and take the appropriate steps. There is no reason to change our normal course of life."

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# Kuwait allows US deployment to bolster buildup

KUWAIT (Reuters) - Kuwait yesterday approved a US request to deploy additional ground troops to expand a US military buildup aimed at deterring former occupier Iraq.

A senior Kuwaiti official said the go-ahead was given at an extraordinary cabinet meeting, ending a brief misunderstanding with Washington over a premature US announcement of the deployment made prior to Kuwaiti approval.

"Yes, we have agreed," the official said. He said the deployment would be a little less than the 5,000 troops proposed by Washington.

The US Embassy said Kuwait has officially notified the United States of its decision to allow in more US troops.

"We have been officially notified of the approval by Kuwait for the deployment of additional US troops in Kuwait," a US embassy spokesman said. He did not disclose the number of the troops.

Some US commentators had interpreted the apparent delay in obtaining Kuwaiti approval of the move announced on Friday as reluctance by a close ally to accept American military help.

Diplomats said there was no delay because, in what diplomats called an embarrassing gaffe of protocol by US officials, the request was not transmitted to Kuwait until Sunday at a meeting between US Secretary of Defense William Perry and the emir, Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah.

Diplomats said the additional ground troops from Fort Hood, Texas would be seen as a defensive force, in contrast to the deployment on Friday in Kuwait of US stealth bombers.

"It's one thing to send in ground troops - a few thousand men are not going to be able to invade Iraq. It can easily be presented as a defensive measure," one envoy said. "But it's quite another to send in strike aircraft that can fly all the way to Baghdad."

Diplomats said Saudi Arabia, one of the three states Perry visited on Sunday, is unlikely to back more attacks against Iraq or approve of a continuing American military buildup in the region.

"If the US retaliates once more against Iraq without serious provocation, I don't think it would be understood by the international community," a senior Western diplomat in Kuwait said.

An Iraqi official, meanwhile, arrived in Moscow on Monday to discuss the US military buildup in the Gulf, the official Iraqi News Agency (INA) reported. It said Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Riyad Qeisi would conduct talks with officials in Russia's

Foreign Ministry on "developments in the current situation (and) the countering of American military threat against Iraq."

Vladimir Titorenko, deputy head of Russia's mission in Iraq, said on Sunday that Moscow is trying to defuse tension and prevent yet another military confrontation between Iraq and the US.

He criticized Washington for its decision to send more troops to the region, saying their presence added to the already rising tensions.

Russia last week secured an Iraqi pledge to halt firing anti-aircraft missiles against US and allied warplanes patrolling no-fly zones over Iraq.

In a related development, a first group of 600 Kurds, who fear reprisals for their work with US aid groups in northern Iraq, left Turkey en route to the American Pacific island of Guam, Turkey's Anatolia News Agency said.

It said another 1,475 Kurds had crossed into Turkey for possible later airlift to Guam from the airport at the southeastern Turkish city of Diyarbakir.

Francis Ricciardone, the US Embassy's chief of mission in Turkey, told reporters in Diyarbakir that the Iraqi Kurds would stay "on the island for about two or three months before being taken to the United States."

And Iran asked the UN yesterday for aid to stop a "serious crisis" for the thousands of Iraqi Kurd refugees it is sheltering after they fled fighting in Iraq, state-run Teheran radio said.

It quoted Ahmad Hosseini, Iran's top official in charge of refugees, as urging the UN refugee agency to "take serious measures" to help the 60,000 refugees Teheran says it is sheltering in six border camps in its western provinces.

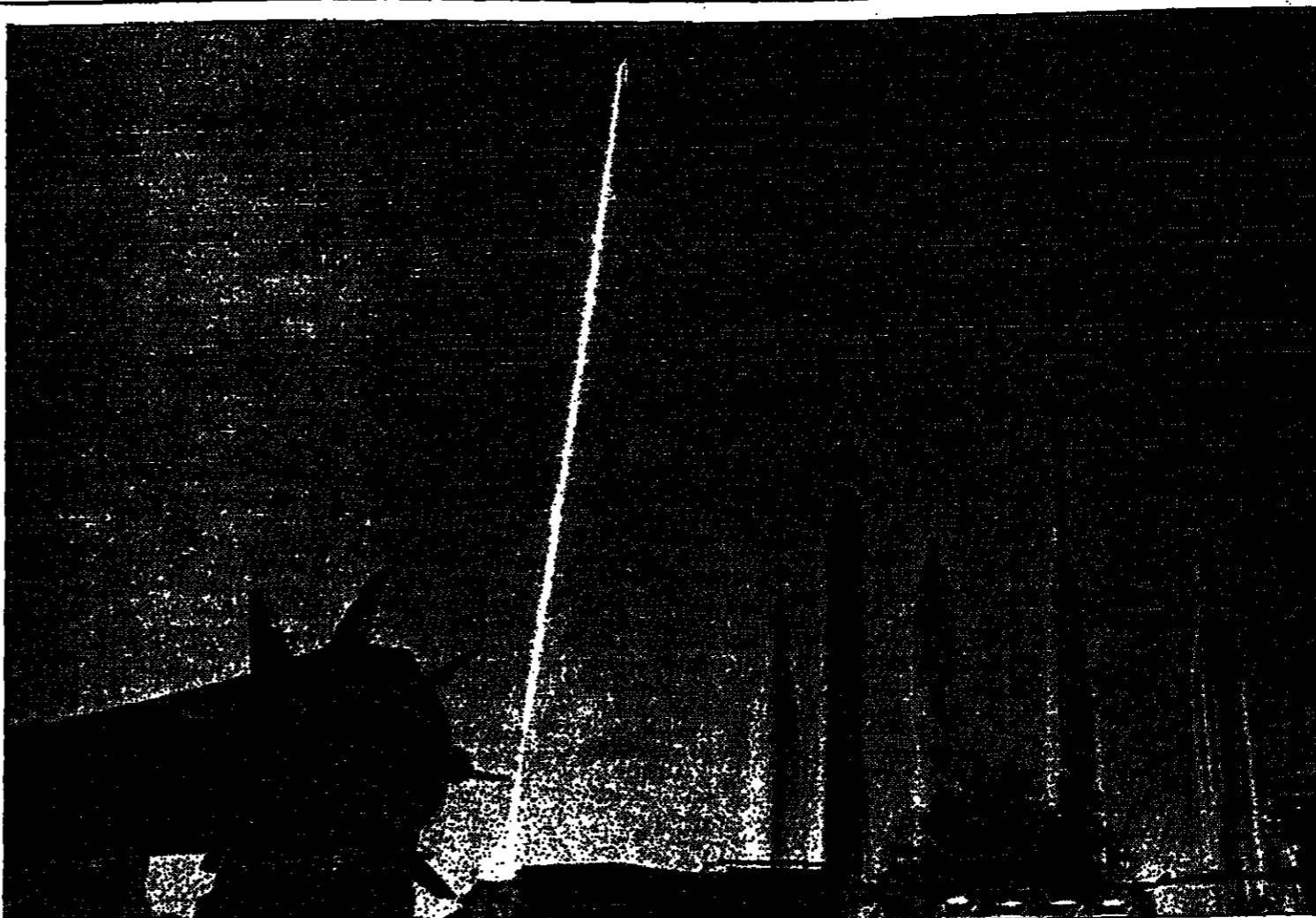
"If international aid does not arrive in time, there will be a serious crisis," Hosseini was quoted as saying.

He said Iran has received a first aid consignment, 30 tons of medicine and medical equipment, from the relief group Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders).

He said Iran had spent \$6.7 million on the refugees, but had not received any aid.

A United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokeswoman said on Saturday in Geneva that an inspection team had so far found about 30,000 Kurdish refugees in camps on the Iranian side of the border.

The UNHCR has assigned \$3.6 million from its emergency fund to provide shelter, food and medicines for the refugees.



The space shuttle Atlantis streaks through the sky above the Rocket Garden at Kennedy Space Center. (AP)

## Shuttle launched to pick up astronaut

CAPE CANAVERAL (Reuters) - Astronaut Shannon Lucid, after six months in orbit, was one step closer to earth yesterday, as the shuttle Atlantis roared into space to pick her up from Russia's Mir station.

Atlantis lit the pre-dawn sky with billowing smoke and brilliant light as it climbed away at 4:54 a.m. from its launch pad at Florida's Kennedy Space Center.

"You can pass it along to the Mir that Atlantis is on her way," said shuttle commander Bill Readdy, as the shuttle slipped into orbit 8.5 minutes later.

Accompanying Readdy aboard Atlantis were pilot Terry Wilcutt and mission specialists Tom Akers, Jay Apt, Carl Walz, and John Blaha.

Flight controllers at mission control in Houston struggled to understand why a power unit in the shuttle's hydraulic system shut down unexpectedly, shortly after the shuttle reached orbit. The device is only used during

launch and landing. Officials briefly considered of bringing forward the rendezvous with Mir by one day, but decided to press ahead as planned.

Mission managers planned to meet today to determine what impact, if any, the problem would have on the planned 10-day flight, according to NASA spokesman Rob Navias.

The shuttle was scheduled to dock with Mir late on Wednesday to pick up Lucid and drop off Blaha, her replacement.

When Lucid arrived on Mir in March, she was expecting to be relieved in early August, but a series of shuttle difficulties extended her flight by nearly seven weeks.

The shuttle's launch, originally scheduled for July 31, was postponed by six weeks because NASA ordered the replacement of its twin rocket boosters, fearing a flaw in the rocket's joints.

Menacing hurricanes lurking off the Florida coast forced NASA to twice haul the shuttle off

its launch pad, delaying it a few more days. And a scheduling clash with an unmanned rocket caused a further delay.

The Mir station passed high above the Kennedy Space Center about 10 minutes after Atlantis' liftoff.

"Hey, I saw the shuttle launch," an excited Lucid told Bill Gerstmaier, who heads NASA's team at Russia's mission control. "Just keep us informed because it's not here ... I mean it's just a small step."

Atlantis will match the orbit of Mir over the next few days, before Readdy gently eases the two craft together. A nudge from the shuttle's maneuvering jets should dock Atlantis with Mir at around 11:17 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time Wednesday.

Blaha, a former combat pilot and a veteran of four previous shuttle missions, will switch places with Lucid and spend four months aboard Mir.

## Early Bosnian elections results favor Izetbegovic

SARAJEVO (Reuters) - President Alija Izetbegovic was comfortably ahead of his main rival for the Muslim seat in Bosnia's new three-party presidential election, according to first results, scrutineers said yesterday.

But the sample result was too small to indicate reliably whether Izetbegovic would win a big enough majority to ensure he would head the presidency, which will also have Croat and Serb representatives.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which ran the elections, said Izetbegovic won 75.96 percent of the vote in the Sarajevo municipality of Ilidza, compared with 20.37% for his former prime minister, Haris Silajdzic.

Izetbegovic's SDA party feared that Silajdzic might take enough votes to let a Bosnian Serb candidate capture the presidency's senior seat.

The first results showed Kresimir Zubak, favored to win the Bosnian Croat seat, trailing his rival. First results from the Bosnian Serb republic which voted separately were still to be announced.

The OSCE said it had received 75 protests over the conduct of Bosnia's first post-war elections, and a respected monitoring group said the balloting was not remotely free and fair.

Some of the complaints involved groups, apparently

Muslim refugees bused under NATO security into separatist Serb territory to vote, who said they were disenfranchised because their names were missing from polling station lists.

One was a challenge by the SDA which denounced voting results on Serb territory as fraudulent, before they were even announced, and vowed not to recognize them.

Authorities must rule on complaints within 72 hours of receipt. Elections results cannot be certified before all protests are resolved.

An independent monitoring agency said many refugees in Bosnia were effectively disenfranchised because of technical errors

in voter registration.

Some 200,000 refugees abroad may have been unable to vote for the same reason, the Soros Foundation-backed International Crisis Group (ICG) said in a statement.

Election Day has been pronounced widely free of abuse and orderly by OSCE and US architects of the 1995 Dayton peace treaty, but the paltry number of boundary crossings spotlighted Bosnia's communal chasms.

International officials at an election post-mortem briefing blamed the poor turnout for buses hired to take refugees across ethnic lines on several factors, including a postponement of municipal voting and a general climate of fear.

## Turkey rejects condemnation over Kurds

ANKARA (Reuters) - Turkey yesterday rejected the European Court of Human Rights' condemnation of its army's tactics in the fight against Kurdish separatist guerrillas.

"Since the case was proceeded with in Strasbourg without first exhaustion of domestic means and without application to the independent Turkish courts, it is difficult for us to understand," Foreign Ministry spokesman Omer Akbel said. He said Turkey filed the court in error.

In its first condemnation of Turkey, the Strasbourg-based court ruled that Turkey had violated the European Convention on Human Rights because its forces had destroyed the village of Kelekci in the south-east of the country in 1992 and 1993.

Seven Turkish Kurds had alleged that soldiers wrecked the village, in the Kurdish province of Diyarbakir, after Kurdish separatist guerrillas attacked a post of Turkish gendarmes.

Ankara argued that the village was destroyed by guerrillas of the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

The court ordered Turkey to pay the applicants a sum covering costs and expenses and recommended negotiations on further compensation.

## Opposition head can't run in Indonesian election

JAKARTA (AP) - Opposition leader Megawati Sukarnoputri and her supporters have been barred as candidates for the 1997 parliamentary election, an official said yesterday.

A lawyer for Megawati, whose government-backed ouster as head of the Indonesia Democratic Party, or PDI, led to rioting in July, vowed to sue to have her name put on the ballot.

"We have received lists of candidates from the three political parties. The acceptance of the list is done, and if there are additional candidacies from the Indonesia Democratic Party, it must be done through the chairman, Suryadi," Interior Minister Yogie Memed told reporters, referring to the new PDI chief recognized by the government.

The three recognized parties - the ruling Golkar Party, the Muslim United Development Party, and the PDI - submitted their lists of candidates at 9 a.m.

Officials from the PDI faction that still considers Megawati to be the party chairman appeared at the election committee five hours later.

"We did not want to come in the morning to avoid unnecessary incidents," Sutarjo Suryogurtino, a member of the PDI executive board, told reporters. He did not elaborate.

More than 100 soldiers were deployed at the national election committee office, as Sutarjo and several other PDI officials from the Megawati camp entered the building. She was not present.

The group was met by a lower-ranking official from the information department and the security chief at the election committee office.

"We cannot receive more nominees because the official candidates have already been submitted," said H. Zumaity of the committee's information department.

R.O. Tambunan, a lawyer for Megawati, responded that "we will definitely file a lawsuit against the national election committee for refusing to accept our list of candidates because as far as we are concerned, Megawati is still the rightful leader of the party."

The three parties will compete next June for 425 parliamentary seats. The other 75 seats are reserved for the military, which does not take part in elections. President Suharto personally appoints the military representatives to Parliament.

Suryadi ousted Megawati as party chief at a rump congress organized by the government in June. Megawati has sued to be reinstated as PDI chief.

## UN office peace effort

UN office peace effort

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# Divisions surface on Algeria's 'unity pact'

PARIS (Reuters) — Algerian President Liamine Zeroual's promise of a "new era" opening in his violence-ridden country ran into suspicion, division, and indifference in the Algerian capital yesterday.

Countering the applause of around 1,000 politicians, union and social leaders which echoed round the Palais des Nations on Sunday over a pledge of general elections next year and a pact to reject violence, residents and independent newspapers in the streets of Algiers suggested little had changed.

"We've heard it all before. In fact, things are worse now than early this year because then at least some of the parties who really reflect the people were involved in talks over the conference," said one resident by telephone.

She added that the two main secular parties had boycotted the weekend "National Conference of Understanding."

The meeting, attended largely by leaders seen as either close to the authorities or lacking popular appeal, agreed to ban the use of Islam and language — such as Arabic or Berber — as political platforms.

Existing parties based on these have a year to change.

Predictably, state-run media saw the meeting as a milestone in taking Algeria's 29 million people to more democracy.

El Moudjahid said it furthured the path towards this and set up a "front to reject violence," while offering clemency to "mistaken" Moslem fundamentalists.

One radio commentator said: "The conference showed the one-party era has ended and Algeria is a full-blown, multi-party democracy."

But El Watan, one of the most independent papers, said the maneuvering was a bitter reminder of the political atmosphere which prevailed in 1990, when the pow-

erful Islamist party, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), won local elections.

The FIS went on to dominate the first round of Algeria's first multi-party general elections in 30 years, to be thwarted when the poll was cancelled.

Since then, an estimated 50,000 people have been killed.

"Words which shrouded the conference failed to conceal the real reality: the way is paved for the FIS (National Liberation Front) and Hamas ... to take commanding leads in the legislative elections," said El Watan. The FIS ruled Algeria as a single party state from 1962 independence from France until reform followed riots in 1988.

Hamas, condemned by FIS militants, has been trying to swing moderate Islamists behind it. Its leader Mahfoud Nahmah challenged Zeroual in last November's presidential election and won 2.9 million votes against Zeroual's 7 million.

Secular opposition parties, who claim the banner of democracy, suspect the old FIS and Hamas of trying, with the blessing of Zeroual, to forge a pact to keep the military's grip on real power.

Ali Rachedi, spokesman for the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), which came second to the FIS in the last poll's first round, said the pact "keeps vague the role of the army, which intervened in 1992 to block the election process, [and remains vague] on the violence and on Algeria's economic choices."

"What the authorities are doing aims to change the 1989 constitution, which guaranteed many liberties, in wanting to reduce these freedoms. We do not agree," he said.

The French-language independent Liberte dismissed the conference as "a mere date which will become quickly blurred."

# Saddam now has Kurdish card against Turkey

JONATHAN LYONS  
ISTANBUL

SADDAM Hussein's return to northern Iraq has handed him a potential new weapon against neighboring Turkey — the separatist rebels of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) who are fighting for autonomy from Ankara.

With Baghdad's influence now extending all the way to its northern border, Saddam can pressure Turkey by unleashing PKK fighters based in camps along the Iraqi frontier, domestic analysts and foreign diplomats say.

At the same time, they say, Baghdad's new Kurdish allies, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), have filled a five-year vacuum and limited Turkey's ability to project military force and political influence into northern Iraq.

"The fact is the PKK will go on existing and being effective in the region. Now, all depends on Baghdad's directives," political scientist Dogu Ergil said yesterday. "Will Saddam now use the PKK card against Turkey?"

A Western diplomat with extensive experience in the north said: "We can now expect the Turks to have a much tougher time."

Already, more than 20,000 people have died in the PKK's guerrilla war, which has tied up more than 250,000 troops in eastern Turkey at an estimated annual cost of \$8 billion.

Foreign Minister Tansu Ciller this month announced ambitious plans for a "security cordon" up to 10 km. deep inside Iraq to choke off PKK infiltration. The army, accustomed to regular security sweeps across the border, vowed to "go in and stay in."

Two weeks on, military planners are talking about stationing electronic monitoring devices, not troops, while the Foreign Ministry is smarting from Arab and western protests in defense of Iraqi territorial integrity.

"There are new facts in the north of Iraq. That area is no longer free



A US Embassy official in Turkey escorts an Iraqi Kurdish refugee family which crossed in from Iraq.

for all," Iraqi presidential adviser Hamed Youssef Hummadi warned the Turks last week.

Even Foreign Minister Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah of Kuwait, Iraq's staunchest regional foe, blasted the Turkish plan at a weekend meeting of Arab ministers: "We are the people most committed to the coherence of Iraq ... We cannot accept the partition of Iraq."

Nor can Ankara expect KDP warlord Massoud Barzani — now, with Saddam's backing, master of the

main Iraqi border town of Zakho that is now under KDP control.

Deprived of influence on the ground, Turkey appears about to lose its last window on PKK activities — the US-led air umbrella that has sheltered Kurds of the north from Iraqi forces since a failed uprising after the 1991 Gulf war.

Pressure is mounting in Turkey to deprive that mission, Operation Provide Comfort (OPC), of its Turkish base to end what domestic critics term a surrender of Turkish sovereignty.

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# Apartheid hitman pleads for leniency

PRETORIA (Reuters) — A convicted government assassin of South Africa's apartheid era made a plea for leniency yesterday, saying he had suffered years of nightmares after carrying out killings on orders from above.

Last month, Eugene de Kock was found guilty of six murders and scores of lesser crimes committed while he led a notorious death-squad unit hunting down guerrillas of the black liberation movement.

He faces a maximum sentence of life imprisonment, which usually means 25 years. But he has applied for full amnesty to South Africa's "truth commission," hinting that he is ready to name those behind crimes committed in the name of racial segregation.

De Kock, 47, told a packed Pretoria Supreme Court that the brutality of guerrilla warfare in Namibia had turned him into a hardened killer who used silenced weapons and fired without hesitation.

He recalled that his first operation killed six people instead of the two intended targets, members of the African National Congress (ANC) military wing.

"We kicked in the door and shot everyone in the house," he said. De Kock and his team were later awarded medals for their action.

Cabinet ministers of President Nelson Mandela's ANC-led government were in court to see the sober-suited de Kock take the stand for the first time in his lengthy trial.

He said his unit carried silenced firearms. "You use them for assassinations ... for nothing else. Without the element of surprise, you'd have problems," he added.

Anti-apartheid activists are hoping de Kock will implicate better known senior officials who served in former president F.W. de Klerk's last white government.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and deputy national intelligence minister Joe Nhlanhla listened as de Kock described how a little-known Gen. Dreyer had ordered him to execute three black guerrillas in Namibia in the 1970s.

The only official to be charged so far is former defense minister Magnus Malan, whose trial for alleged complicity in a 1987 massacre of 13 men, women and children is nearing its end.

De Kock once claimed to be apartheid's most effective assassin. But defense lawyers in his 18-month trial say he now suffers from post-traumatic stress disorder.

The career policeman, arrested shortly after the all-race elections in 1994 buried apartheid, took a break for medication during his day's testimony.

"At one stage, I was too scared to go to sleep," he told Judge Willem van der Merwe. "I would have nightmares of fights, burning grass ... you feel you're awake, but you can't move."

De Kock was raised in a strict religious and nationalistic home but denied being a racist and disavowed the double standards he said he witnessed in the South African forces during wars in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South-West Africa (now Namibia).

# UN official says Afghan peace effort must go on

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) — The latest fighting in Afghanistan means urgent UN efforts are needed to avert more bloodshed, a high-ranking UN official said yesterday.

"There is a general expectation that the Taliban will have another go at Kabul and try and tighten their grip on Kabul from the east and northeast," Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs Marrack Goulding told Reuters in an interview.

"This would lead to yet more civilian casualties and destruction of infrastructure, which makes it all the more urgent that we should get a proper negotiating process going."

The rebel Islamic Taliban militia captured the eastern city of Jalalabad from neutral factions on Wednesday, gaining control of the main highway linking the capital Kabul to Pakistan.

The Taliban, seeking to overthrow President Burhanuddin Rabbani and enforce a strict Islamic order in Afghanistan, is already besieging Kabul from the south and southeast.

Goulding, just back from a four-day tour of Afghanistan with UN special envoy Norbert Holl,

said he is returning to New York with ideas for UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on how the mission should proceed, but did not disclose them.

He said the Taliban believes cities are falling into its hands "like ripe plums," not thanks to its military skills but because the people are fed up with "corrupt" guerrilla groups.

"The Taliban is on a military high," he said, adding that it is refusing to talk to Kabul government leaders or to opposition leader Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum.

The United Nations, however, must pursue its efforts in the hope that the Afghan conflict, like other long-running struggles in Cambodia, Namibia, and the Middle East, could be settled.

"These things are all extremely difficult to resolve, and you must not give up," Goulding declared. "That doesn't mean that if we get thoroughly stuck, we are going to go on maintaining a mission the size of the present one in Afghanistan."

He said proposals for an arms embargo on Afghanistan are not very practical and said an international peace conference would only be useful toward the end of a negotiating process.

# IRA truce report treated with caution

BELFAST (Reuters) — Irish Republican Army (IRA) guerrillas may be moving towards a new cease-fire, Irish media reports said yesterday, but their Sinn Fein political wing ruled out an early truce and pro-British Protestants said they were skeptical.

Irish newspapers predicted peace moves by the outlawed IRA, which has fought to end British rule of Northern Ireland for 25 years and broke a 17-month truce in February.

Quoting security sources, press reports said the leadership of the IRA may be planning a special secret convention to consider restoring the truce.

"IRA's top command structure may call a cease-fire," the Irish Times said, supporting British newspaper reports that the guerrillas are planning a secret conference to decide strategy.

The Irish Independent, also published in Dublin, said senior police officers in the Irish capital believe that most of the IRA's leaders favor reinstating the cease-fire.

Sinn Fein's chief strategist, Martin McGuinness, said he had no knowledge of the guerrillas' intentions.

Accusing Britain of "dogged intransigence," McGuinness said in radio interviews that there was little prospect of an IRA cease-fire before Britain brings Sinn Fein into talks on a permanent political solution for the province.

"I think that anyone who thinks that it [an imminent truce] is likely — given the events of the past two years — is living in cloud cuckoo land," he said on BBC radio.

The IRA launched a bombing campaign in mainland Britain in February, but it has not set an attack since June 15.

# Princess Stephanie to divorce faithless husband

PARIS (AP) — Princess Stephanie of Monaco will carry out plans to divorce her faithless husband Daniel Dacruet, French radio reported yesterday.

The royal palace in the Riviera principality said there would be no statement concerning the announcement, made through her Paris lawyer, Thierry Lacoste.

Lacoste's office confirmed the report on France Info radio. The all-news TV station LCI said the divorce would be pronounced in three to five weeks. It did not cite sources.

According to France Info, Stephanie, the youngest daughter of Prince Rainier and the late screen star Grace Kelly, allegedly met with Dacruet over the weekend to discuss a possible reconciliation. No details were available.

Italian magazines broke the scandal on August 28, publishing 40 pages of explicit photos showing Dacruet, 32, cavorting naked at a villa outside Monaco with Fifi Nouteman, 26, a former Miss Nude Belgium.

It would not be the first divorce in Monaco's royal family. Princess Caroline divorced French playboy Philippe Junot, although their marriage was annulled by the Vatican after she remarried.

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# EU farm ministers meet over beef crisis

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — European farm ministers yesterday began a potentially stormy two-day meeting over whether cereals farmers should be paid less so that beef farmers can get more help in coping with the mad cow crisis.

Several hundred German farmers demonstrated behind barbed wire barriers outside the ministerial building, chanting "Fischler out" and "Fischler the executioner of German farmers," a reference to EU Farm Commissioner Franz Fischler.

"We are categorically against the commission's proposals to reform the beef market," Gerd Sonnleitner, vice president of the German Farmers Federation, told a news conference.

German beef producers, who are losing DM 400 for every bull sold, face ruin, he added.

Germany, backed by most EU member states, also argues that cereals farmers, who have been reaping bumper profits from

record world prices, could soon be confronted with falling prices as production rises.

"It's unfair to make a permanent cut in aid after what has proven to be a temporary windfall," said one diplomat.

Germany says that savings could be made within the farm budget to find the 1.3 billion Ecus (\$1.7 billion) needed in 1998 to ease the problems caused by the crisis over mad cow disease.

"The discussion is likely to be long and heated, but without any decisions," added the diplomat.

With mainland Europe worried about repairing the damage caused by the public health scare over the disease, known medically as Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE), Britain is unlikely to receive support for easing a worldwide ban on its beef exports.

British Farm Minister Douglas Hogg met Fischler yesterday to press the case for cutting a scheme to slaughter an extra 147,000 cat-

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## Syrian hypocrisy

THAT Syria has once again refused to reopen peace talks with Israel should come as no surprise. Syria has proven repeatedly that it has little interest in actually reaching an agreement; its main interest is in whatever benefits it can squeeze out of the US in exchange for occasional procedural concessions. What is puzzling is why the rest of the world continues to dance to Syria's tune.

As usual, Syria has tried to blame Israel for its refusal to reopen talks. According to the official Syrian press, Damascus cannot re-enter talks while Israel refuses to commit in advance to giving up land, or while Israel is demanding "tangible concessions" of it, or while Israel refuses to accept the unwritten and non-binding understandings reached during negotiations with the previous government.

Also as usual, Syria has been abetted in its attempt to shift the blame by its Arab allies - including those Arab countries which are officially at peace with Israel. At an emergency meeting of the Arab League in Cairo on Sunday, the attending foreign ministers accepted Syria's proposal to freeze ties with Israel unless there is "progress in the peace process" - a euphemism for complete Israeli capitulation to Syrian demands. Officially, this resolution is not binding on the countries in question. However, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa - representing Israel's supposed closest ally at the conference - said afterwards that the ministers had agreed on a series of concrete anti-Israel measures which would be brought to their respective governments for approval.

The Israeli government has so far responded to these threats with an appropriately firm tone. "External pressure does not serve the interests of the peace process. It is precisely the opposite effect," said Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's foreign policy adviser, Dore Gold, after the meeting.

However, it is high time that both the international community and the Israeli opposition begin acknowledging the hypocrisy of the Syrian position, instead of continuing to try to put fruitless pressure on the Netanyahu government.

It is ridiculous, for instance, for Syria to refuse to negotiate with Israel because Netanyahu is demanding "tangible concessions," while at the same time saying it will not negotiate unless Jerusalem promises in advance to make the most tangible of all possible concessions: The entire Golan Heights. Either neither side has the right to demand concessions in advance, or both sides do.

Where the hypocrisy really reaches its height, however, is the consistency with which both the world and the Israeli left parrot Syria's claim that no agreement is possible unless Israel gives up the entire Golan. As revealed last week, Israel tried this approach two years ago - and it did not work.

Last week's disclosure that prime minister Yitzhak Rabin agreed in 1994 to a full retreat to the pre-1967 border is the best possible proof that Syria simply does not want an agreement. Rabin's conditions for such a withdrawal were that Syria provide appropriate security arrange-

ments and that it offer an acceptable level of normalization. According to Yehudi Aharonov, which broke the story, Syrian President Hafez Assad consented orally - though not in writing - to the security arrangements Rabin was demanding. What evidently stuck in Assad's craw, however, was the demand for normalization. Because of this, the oral understandings remained oral understandings, and no agreement was ever signed.

If Syria is so unwilling to accept normalization with Israel that even the offer of the whole Golan could not sweeten the bitter pill, it is clear that it is not interested in an agreement. It appears that the only thing Assad would accept is the equivalent of a military victory: The entire Golan with no normalization at all.

Indeed, there are worrying signs that Damascus has not yet abandoned hope of recouping the Golan by military action. It has been engaged in a massive and unrelenting arms build-up in recent years. It has built up its air force to a level which "goes far beyond a defensive posture," in the words of the prestigious *Jane's Defence Weekly*; it has established Scud missile sites in underground bunkers within easy striking range of Israeli troops on the Golan Heights; it has, according to *Jane's Sentinel*, the most advanced chemical weapons program in the Arab world, including missiles capable of delivering chemical warheads to any part of Israel; and it also has one of the largest stockpiles of chemical weapons in the Third World, as well as a recently-built chemical weapons plant which is busily engaged in producing more.

Just last week, the prestigious London-based *Foreign Report* revealed that Syria was working "feverishly" to build combat positions in the demilitarized zone on the Golan, in violation of the 1974 disengagement agreement.

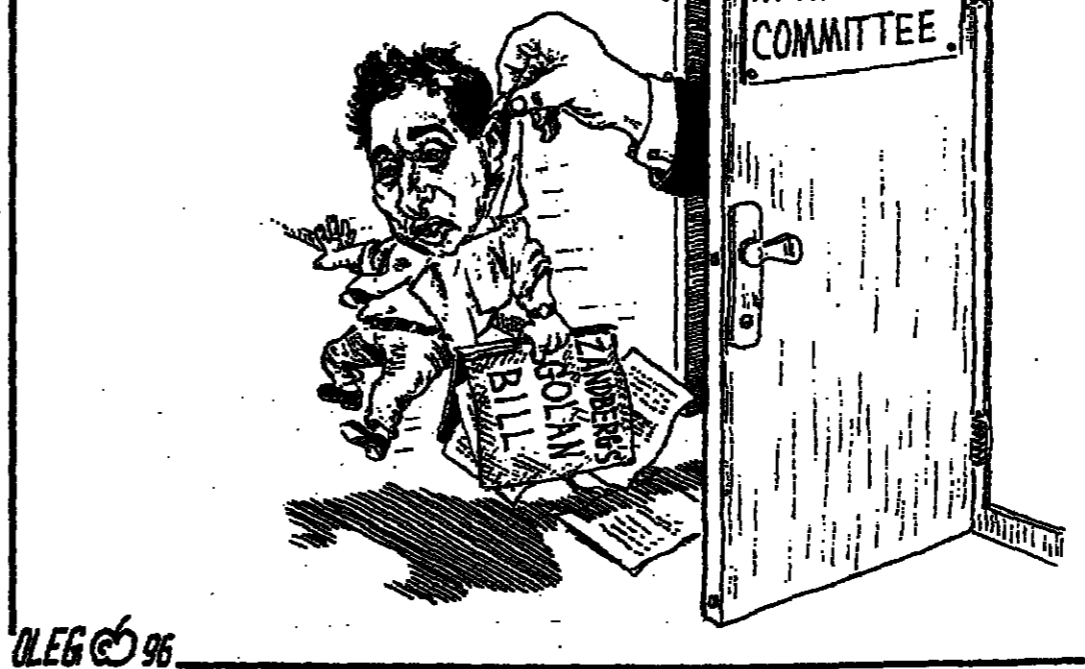
If Syria is truly considering a military attack on Israel, this is the best possible reason for the government's refusal in principle to give up the Golan, which is the only buffer Israel has against Syrian military might.

In practice, however, it is now evident that even if the government were willing to give up the entire Golan, it would not avail. Syria has made it clear that it is unwilling to agree to normalization, and not even the Rabin-Peres government would have given back the Golan for less.

For the world to pressure Netanyahu into changing his positions is therefore a waste of time. If the international community really wants to bring about an agreement, it should concentrate its efforts on pressuring Assad. For starters, this means that international diplomats must stop acting as apologists for Syrian intransigence and cease their constant pilgrimages to Damascus as supplicants. Instead, US Secretary of State Warren Christopher might do well to take a page from the book of his predecessor, James Baker: Give Assad his phone number, and tell him to call when he gets serious about peace.

Such pressure, far from disrupting the peace process, is the only way to further it - because without a radical change in Syria's positions, there is never going to be an agreement.

"THE VOTERS CAN TRUST US ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS..."



ULEG 96

## Ongoing nightmare

WITH the end of the Rabin-Peres Oslo regime one has the sense of finally waking up from a nightmare. The only trouble is that many aspects of it refuse to go away.

Before 1992, when the Labor coalition took office, a functional consensus that encompassed most of the Likud and something then still called the Labor "hawks" or "central stream" ensured that certain interests would be safeguarded.

In the brave new world we now face, an Israeli prime minister loath to give up the Golan Heights is portrayed by the Western countries, the Arab governments and the local media and opposition as an intransigent hawk pushing the region toward war.

Jerusalem, too - also once thought to be part of the "Israeli consensus" - is now very much at issue as the PA fights to entrench itself in the eastern part of the capital.

Beyond these and other aspects of Israel's deteriorating geopolitical position, the Rabin-Peres government weakened and possibly destroyed certain fundamental Zionist-Israeli values, like anti-terrorism. Israel, often in heroic contrast to other Western states, refused to accept the murderous ideology of terrorism or give in to terror itself.

Today, little remains of that concept. Instead Israel has become the world's most dramatic appeaser of terrorism.

By making a statesman out of Yasser Arafat - and the handshake between the PLO leader and an unenthusiastic Netanyahu set the seal on that - Israel signaled that terrorism does pay and will even reap a reward if the perpetrators persist in it for long enough. Israel's reward for this message was three years of the worst terror the state has ever

P. DAVID HORNICK

known.

Settlement of the land is another basic value that united society and held great symbolic power. To be sure, beginning in 1967 debates raged over where to settle, who should settle, and why.

But before Oslo a significant part of Labor was thought to be committed to settling some parts of the territories, and to Zionist settlement per se.

As the reality of Oslo emerged, however, Labor-affiliated settlers in the Golan and the Jordan

The legacy of Oslo is not just political damage but erosion of Zionist values

Valley learned that they were fodder, pawns, *freiers*.

Today idealistic settlement is strictly associated with the national-religious sector. With the Labor movement's abandonment of settlement it has vanished as a value from secular Israeli society. With the loss of the principles of anti-terrorism and settlement, could army service be far behind? Undoubtedly, more general trends of materialism and hedonism made their contribution here. Still, every inquiry I have seen into the decline in willingness to serve cites the belief that "peace is around the corner" as a major factor.

It could hardly be otherwise, considering that since 1993 Labor and Meretz have constantly beguiled the public with this seductive, poisonous message.

Instead of saying what needs to be said - that life in the Middle East cannot be like life in America or Benelux, but that cer-

tain values make our perseverance here worthwhile - they encouraged every wish and fantasy of an easy, self-centered existence.

MOST fundamentally, the Rabin-Peres government damaged the most central Zionist value of all: independence.

The main thing, after all, that is supposed to distinguish Israel from Diaspora Jewish communities is that it takes responsibility for its own fate rather than relying on the good graces of non-Jews.

Yet at every turn the previous government sought to transfer responsibility for our well-being to others.

The PLO was brought into Gaza and West Bank cities to protect us from terrorism; Norwegian observers were brought into Hebron; the great day was supposed to come when Israeli soldiers would be cleared off the Golan and replaced by American soldiers acting as our shield against Syria.

Where there had been self-reliance there would be peace treaties shored up by our distant, giant benefactor, America.

The political legacy of Oslo is that Israel is under intensifying pressure to make concessions that, not long ago, a large part of the Labor Party would have considered unacceptably dangerous. The ideological legacy is that values of anti-terrorism, settlement, army service and independence have been damaged or even destroyed.

The new government's task is both to contain the political damage and to try to reverse the ideological erosion. So far it is working hard at the former while only just beginning to address the latter.

The writer is a Jerusalem writer and translator.

## Gangsta rap

MARK HARDIE

ISRAEL is being invaded by American inner-city culture. From "gangsta" music to "gangsta" clothing Israeli teenagers are adopting elements of a violent subculture that promotes violence, racism and sexism.

On any given night in Jerusalem's Zion Square one can hear the pounding beat and racy lyrics of "gangsta rap" music, typically associated with America's worst street gangs.

One gangsta rapper proclaims, "Life ain't nuthin' but b—ches [promiscuous women] and rooney." Another states, "I've got a sawed-off [shotgun], bodies will get hauled off."

In gangsta rap music women are sexual objects, almost always portrayed as uneducated and highly promiscuous. Random violence is promoted and law enforcement scorned. One song entitled "Cockiller" urges listeners to "dust some cops off."

The stereotypical gangsta is a defiant and armed teenager who drinks malt liquor, uses drugs, sneers at women, calls himself a "n-gga" (black person) and kills in the name of gang violence. Throughout the rap the gangsta describes his perspective in chilling detail.

In America widespread recognition that gangsta rap music glamorizes and glorifies wanton violence and illicit sex has led to the establishment of several social movements whose aim is to educate the public about the messages these rappers are promoting.

In Israel, the public remains largely ignorant of the phenomenon.

MANY RAPPERS argue that gangsta rap is honest social commentary, reporting what the rappers see in the inner city: racism, sexism, drugs, violence, gangs, alcohol abuse and the breakdown of family life.

This is a valid argument, as far as it goes.

But gangsta rappers, instead of denouncing this culture, condone and even promote it. Their songs and videos create the impression that such degenerate social condi-

Israeli teens are adopting a culture that promotes violence, racism and sexism

tions and behavior are acceptable, even desirable.

The rappers themselves aren't likely to pay much attention to their critics because vulgarity and violence sell. And one need only look at the behavior of the rap artists themselves for confirmation of the dangers posed by their culture.

Rapper Snoop Doggy Dog was recently acquitted of murder charges in a case involving an alleged drive-by shooting. Flavor Flav, a quirky rapper, was recently arrested for allegedly possessing cocaine. Rapper Tupak Shakur was recently convicted of sexual misconduct on charges related to alleged assault on a young woman.

The point is clear: Gangsta rappers don't just talk; many practice what they preach.

Israeli teenagers aren't just listening to gangsta rap music. They're increasingly going about in so-called "gangsta clothes."

In violent American inner-city neighborhoods gang members wear overly baggy pants, oversized shirts and back-to-front baseball caps. This style, popularized by rappers, has become a hot Israeli fashion trend. Do we really want young Israelis parading around imitating American criminals?

Beyond music and fashion, gangsta rap is beginning to influence the language used by some young Israelis. Slang words like "honey" (friend), "G" (gangsta), "n-gga" (black person), and "187" (homicide) are increasingly heard among the hip teenage crowd. It is "trendy" for young men to sound like the macho thugs-with-microphones who created this explicit style.

This popularization of gangsta culture in the Jewish state not only contributes to a coarsening - or worse - of its youth. In promoting an intensely rebellious and immoral lifestyle, gangsta rap is the very antithesis of Jewish culture and values.

The Ministry of Education should waste no time in putting out an informative pamphlet to help parents identify the trend of "gangsterization" amongst their children and do what they can to nip it in the bud.

The writer is an American law student currently studying at the Hebrew University.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### DAMAGE CONTROL

Sir, - The Netanyahu-Arafat meeting must be seen in context. There is an old story of the traveler who stops to ask the way. "How do I get to Newville?" he enquires. "If I were going to Newville," comes the reply, "I wouldn't start from here."

In Netanyahu's search for peace and security, he has been given no choice of a starting point. He has inherited decisions and policies of his predecessors which, to put it mildly, compromise the future well-being and security of the Jewish State. In many ways, what is left to the new government is best described as "damage control" - limiting as far as possible the harm already done, finding a difficult way forward from this imposed starting point which will hopefully be more secure and more honorable, more consonant with our nation's past traditions and future hopes. However, its hands are tied by international commitments entered into by the Rabin-Peres government, notwithstanding the grave consequences implicit in Oslo I and Oslo II.

That Benjamin Netanyahu was reluctantly compelled to meet with, and shake the bloodstained hand of, Yasser Arafat is not, as Shimon Peres smugly claimed, proof of the correctness of the previous govern-

ment's policy; rather it is part of the price which not only Netanyahu, but the country as a whole, has to pay for the follies of the Labor-Meretz government. To proclaim that the Netanyahu-Arafat meeting proves that "ours is the only way," as Peres and his associates have done, is not only a pathetic attempt at self-justification, but a remarkable perversion of both truth and logic.

It was Rabin and Peres who put the terrorist chief Arafat on a pedestal of international respectability and who entered into deeply flawed but binding agreements with him. That these commitments determine the starting point of the new government's negotiations with the Palestinian Authority is unfortunately true; that they prove the correctness of the previous government's policy is arrant nonsense.

The Rabin-Peres government dug a bottomless pit for the country. The ways out from the darkness and back to the light are few and difficult; however, while our leaders are constrained by the past, they cannot, as the electorate wisely recognized, perpetuate the rejected ways of those who now sit in disgruntled opposition.

Haiifa. GILBERT HERBERT

### NOISE POLLUTION

Sir, - I was interested to read D'vora Ben Shaul's article of August 26 about babies' hearing being affected in the womb, although this often did not manifest itself until the child was several years old.

Perhaps the din we are subjected to daily should also be taken into account - the shouting, yelling, boating, radios played far too loud

on buses and in the streets and music played at unbearable noise levels at festivities, the latter so loud one cannot talk to friends at these "joyous" functions.

No wonder people of all ages are having hearing problems.

Jerusalem. ELAINE M. ABELSON

### AIRPORT SECURITY

Sir, - In the August 11 article about security checks at Ben Gurion Airport, El Al's statement that "it was understandable that the reporter, a Jewish Israeli, had not been subjected to an exhaustive search..." is just the kind of logic that can lead to tragedy.

No one should be excluded from a body search and hand search of all luggage, perhaps even the crew. This was done in 1971 when my family and I made a trip to Israel on an El Al flight. We had been asked to arrive the usual three hours before take-off. No one complained.

ANNETTE WUNSCH

Haiifa.

### SLEUTHING NEEDED

Sir, - I rely on your *Time Out* supplement for information on TV, arts and entertainment programs, but it frequently requires Sherlock Holmes-style sleuthing to discover what those programs are. Apparently you receive them from the Hebrew source and no effort is made to check back on the original title.

Some examples: The Jeffrey Ballet presents "Outward signs" (*Time Out*); the real title of this dance: "Billboards."

Your schedule recently stated Channel 1 was to screen "The Currie Brothers," a film about the 1960s "crime kings of the city." Who would have guessed this was "The Krays"? In a recent issue, world-famous conductor Pierre Boulez becomes Pierre "Borlouz."

MIRIAM DAYAN  
Tel Aviv.



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Buying Time

Stalemates Can Help A Place Like Bosnia

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

TO those who watch from a distance, there seem to be some places in the world where conflict is chronic, embedded in the folk music, the mythologies, the tales of martyrdom told to children. War sometimes seems a part of the human condition in these places, alive in memory and always possible at some future random moment. Bosnia can look like that. Until about a quarter century ago, the United Nations and that elusive thing diplomats call the "world community" specialized mostly in drawing lines through intractable conflicts — in Kashmir, Cyprus and the Korean peninsula, for example. Now the peacemakers build rickety political coalitions like the one that just collapsed around the Kurds in Iraq, or organize elections like the messy one held yesterday in Bosnia. Then the world waits, knowing that these political experiments are less likely to be cures than Band-Aids over the wounds of war. Still, even uneasy stalemates

Should the vote have been held now? What was the alternative?

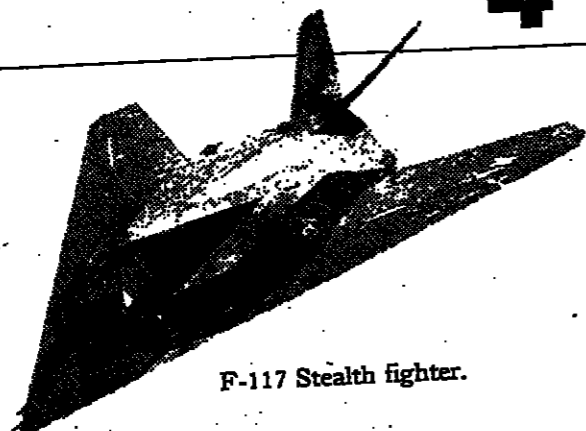
buy time for people to resume normal lives and look for more permanent solutions — if, that is, they are not busy gathering energy and ammunition for the next round of fighting (like Afghanistan's last week). Because hopes run so low for Bosnia — which gave prosperous and peaceful Europe a bad name for the first time in half a century — many wonder if this election was worth the trouble. But what was the alternative? asks Ruth Wedgwood, a professor of international law at the Yale Law School. She has just returned from Bosnia, where she found that the NATO-enforced peace, however precarious, had brought changes in many ways, and had given people time to think. "The Dayton accord was not trying to reverse ethnic cleansing, except on paper," she said. "And the last two years of fighting had really made a difference in the possibility of putting Bosnia back together." Going ahead with elections under imperfect conditions "probably did make sense," she said. "The situation wasn't going to get any better in three or four months." Stalemates are sometimes policies in themselves, and they work for a while — sometimes a long while. India and Pakistan have fended off a United Nations-mandated referendum on Kashmir for half a century. Long lulls punctuated by spasms of terror have allowed London to put off the really big decisions about Northern Ireland. We now learn from Central Intelligence Agency documents how several Administrations used the Kurds as makeweights to stymie Iraq or Iran, or both. A real stalemate in Bosnia might be a hopeful sign. The Talon, an Army-financed magazine for American troops serving there, recently painted a cheerful picture of what follows the voting (and what follows is more important than the election itself, it says): the magazine

Continued on page 2

Teen Smokers

The more adults say "no," kids say "yes."

4



F-117 Stealth fighter.

A Preference for Bombs It's less risky to send planes than troops.

By Philip Shenon

2

Just Colleagues How far is too far on gay rights?

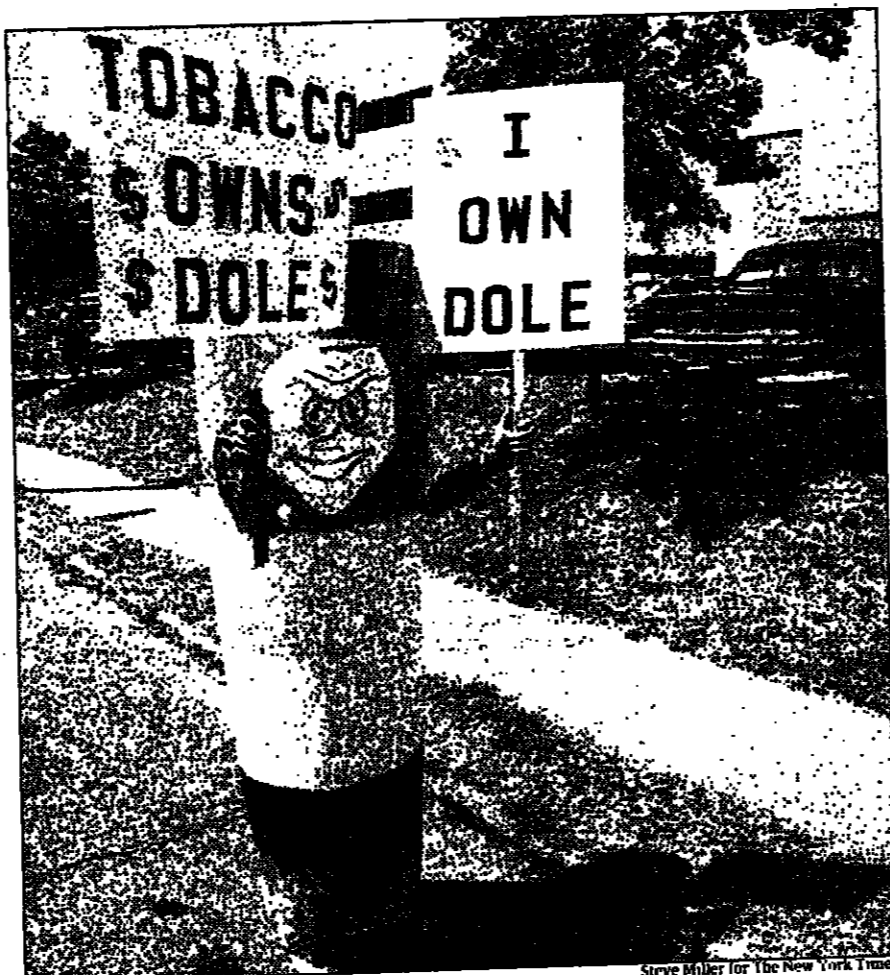
By Steven A. Holmes

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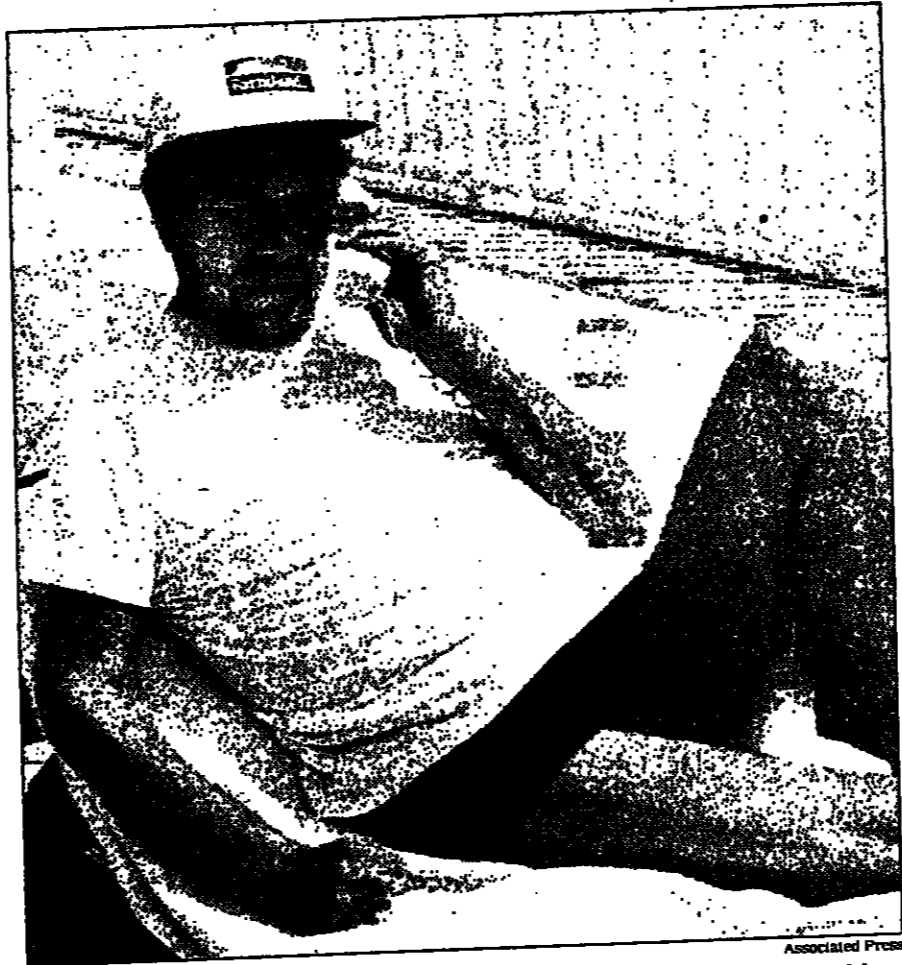
Some Images Stick. Some Don't. Why?



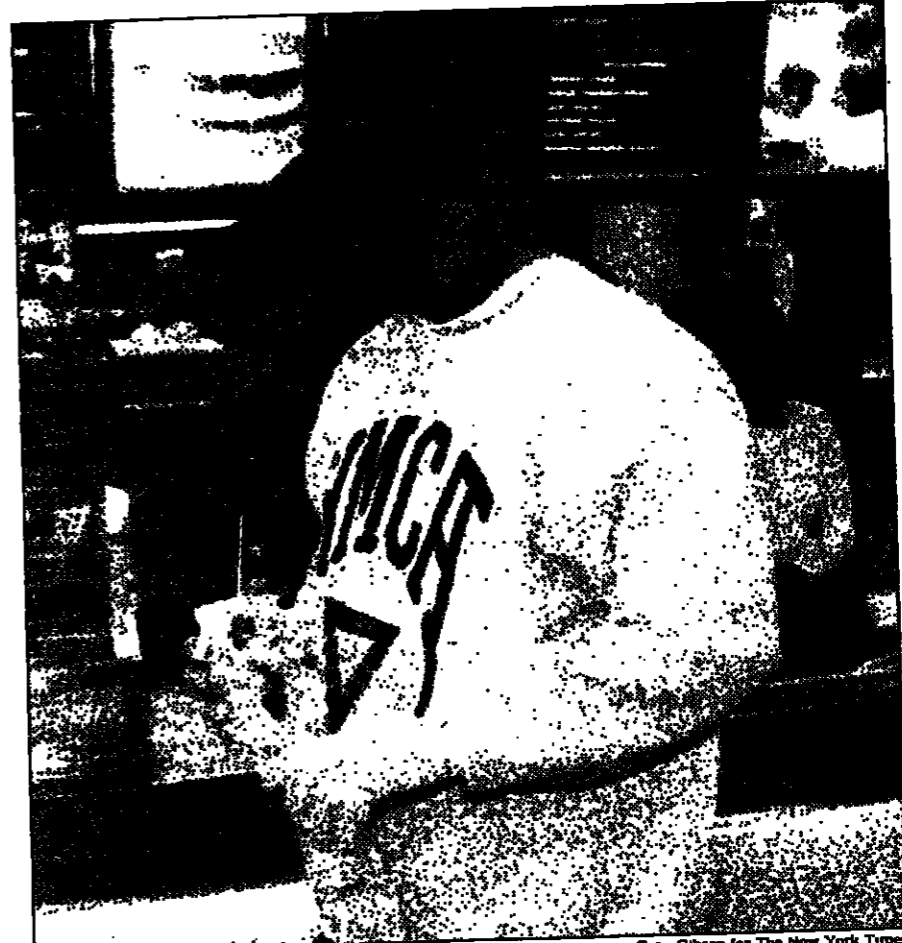
Character: Bob Dole left his first wife, Phyllis. But Bill Clinton gets the fidelity questions. On "60 Minutes" in 1992 with Hillary, he admitted marital problems.



Tobacco: "Buttman" reminds voters that Bob Dole accepts tobacco contributions. So does the President, but for him the issue just blows away.



Health: Bob Dole's medical records show that he is in great shape, but his age raises questions. Bill Clinton is presumed to be healthy, despite his eating habits.



By RICHARD L. BERKE

IMAGINE, for a moment, if Bob Dole, on three occasions this year, had responded to reporters' questions with red-faced outbursts. Or if disclosures were to surface that President Clinton, stuck in the basement of his home and sat down to only two dinners — Christmas and Easter — with his wife and daughter. The incidents are rooted in real life, only the names are reversed. It is Mr. Clinton, not Mr. Dole, who is guilty of the public fits of rage. And it is Mr. Dole, not Mr. Clinton, whose marriage, to his first wife, crumbled before finally dissolving in 1972. Yet those incidents haven't gained much currency in the press, and have hardly become ingrained in the public consciousness. It is safe to say, however, that had the mini-explosions been Mr. Dole's, the questions

about whether he had the temperament to be President would be relentless. And had the marital revelations been about the Clintons, so too would be the new questions about Mr. Clinton's private comportment and true character.

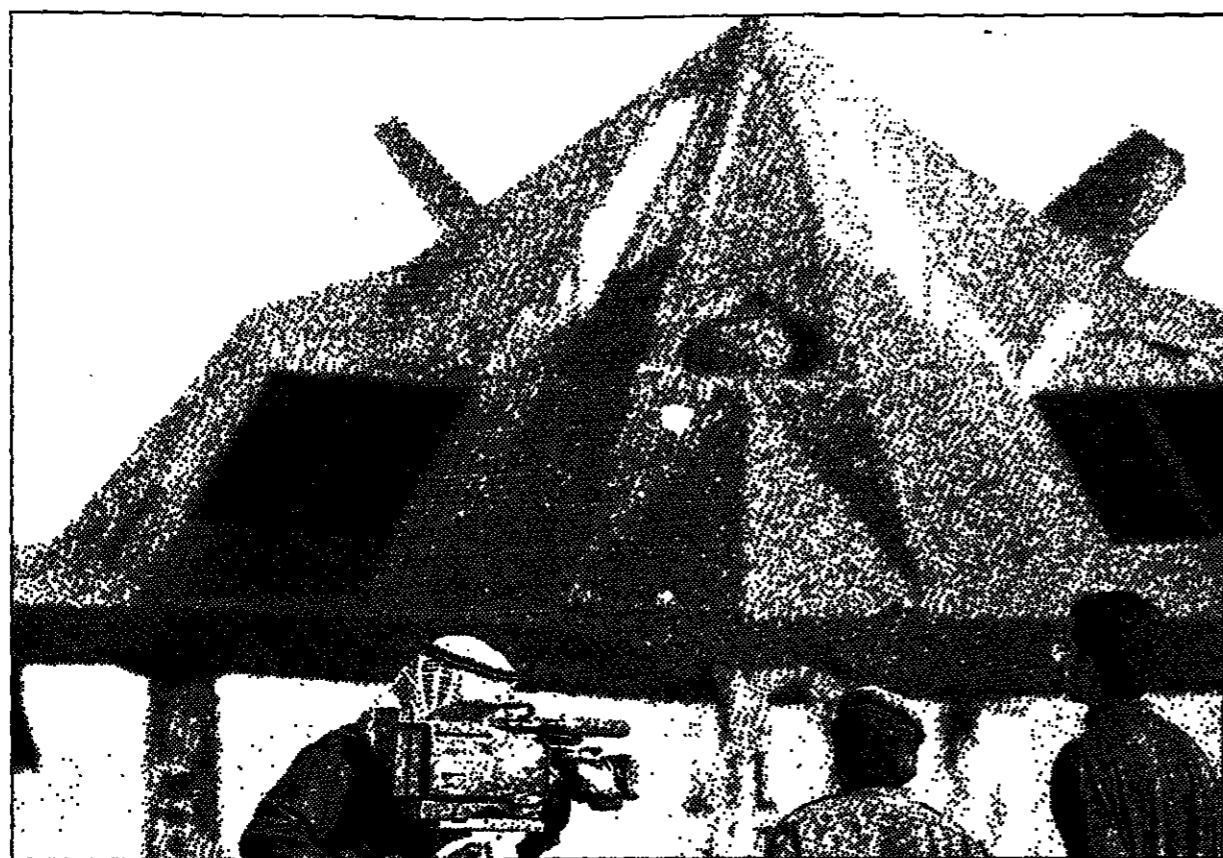
Stereotypes

Such inconvenient details suggest that the way the two major candidates for President are being judged and portrayed often doesn't reflect reality at all. Instead a complicated set of double standards seems to be at work, derived from earlier impressions of the candidates and from a reluctance by the press and public to revise their assumptions about them. These largely unchallenged stereotypes often affect how the candidates present themselves — and their opponents. Robert Schmuil, chairman of the American Studies department at the University of Notre Dame, sees not only double standards but "a paradox with a capital P." He said: "What is happening is that political figures

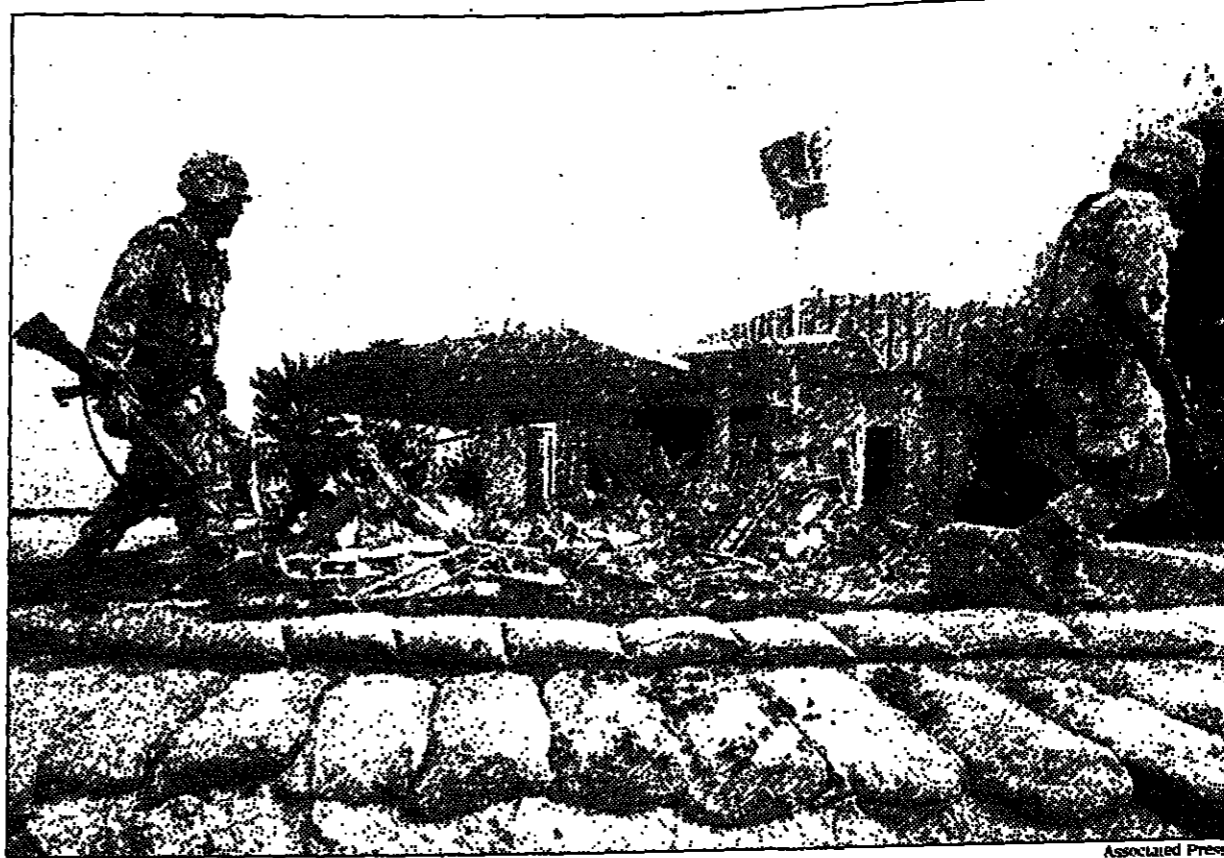
become established in the public mind in certain ways. We tend not to pay much attention to information that conflicts with that image unless it is so remarkable that it grabs us by the throat and says, "You have to rethink how you view a particular political figure." Mr. Dole's one public flash of pique this year — against Katie Couric on the "Today" program — became an enduring motif in press reports because it fit the stereotype of Mr. Dole as irascible. Conversely, the dour Dole stereotype also helps explain why unflattering stories about his personal life hardly draw notice. Mr. Clinton's aides complain that while the President has been skewered as having shady connections in the Whitewater case (though most people polled say Whitewater itself won't affect their vote), Mr. Dole has escaped criticism for his links to David C. Owen, who managed a Dole blind trust before he and the Senator had an inamiable parting in 1988. Since his dealings with Mr. Dole, Mr. Owen has served six months in

Continued on page 4

# The World



An American Stealth fighter, like the ones now in Kuwait, was filmed for Kuwaiti television on a visit in 1994.



U.S. ground troops last fought Iraq in 1991, when these Special Forces troops patrolled in Kuwait City.

## A Low-Risk Plan to Counter Iraq: Fly, Don't Drive

By PHILIP SHENON

**A**S the United States approached another military showdown with Iraq last week, nobody, but nobody at the Defense Department talked publicly about the possibility of sending American ground troops back to war in the Persian Gulf.

And why should they? If Pentagon officials are telling the truth, the idea of American ground troops in battle against Iraq is not even being dandered about privately. "In terms of protecting the people we care about most in the Persian Gulf — the Kuwaitis, the Saudis, the other oil states — air power is really all we

need," said a Pentagon official.

Since the end of the Gulf war in 1991, the United States has had a simple policy: If the Iraqis make trouble on the ground, they are attacked from the air, at little risk to American lives. If American ground troops are sent to the Middle East, as 5,000 were last week, it is mostly for show, a display of resolve.

When Iraq moved thousands of troops into Kurdish areas of northern Iraq this month, the United States launched 44 cruise missiles that crippled much of what remained of Iraq's air defense network in southern Iraq, an area of far greater strategic value to the United States because it borders Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

In an era in which the image of a single body bag can upend American foreign policy, the cruise missile is seen at the Pentagon as a nearly perfect weapon. Fired

from hundreds of miles away, a cruise missile puts no American life in danger; the same is not true for Iraqis or others living or working near its destination.

Iraqi troops and tanks are barred from massing south of the 32d parallel in southern Iraq — the American-policed "no-drive" zone — and should they dare to penetrate it and move toward Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, they could expect cataclysmic aerial retaliation from the United States.

### Weighing the Hazards

That sort of conflict would certainly carry some risk for American pilots, but nothing like the sort faced by ground troops in the same situation.

American policy makers wish they still had similar

options today in Bosnia, where American and other NATO ground troops are all that keep warring ethnic groups from genocide. There is a belief among some Pentagon and State Department officials that the deployment of American ground troops might never have been necessary there had the Clinton Administration acted earlier with air strikes, especially against the Serbs.

Despite indications last week that the Iraqis were backing down from a fight, Pentagon officials continued drawing up plans for a massive air attack that would reach the Iraqis a lesson not soon forgotten. The Air Force was quick to point out that the bat-winged F-117 Stealth fighter-bombers that were dispatched had been used during the Gulf war to attack the most sensitive, best protected military targets in Baghdad. And in that war, not one of the planes was lost.

### Covert Action in Iraq

## Call in the C.I.A. and Cross Your Fingers

By TIM WEINER

**W**HEN the President tells the Central Intelligence Agency to discreetly make a foreign leader disappear, the agency's job is to salute smartly, skulk back to headquarters and try to figure out how in the world to do it. The assignment came last January: topple Saddam Hussein.

Five years had passed since the Gulf war. Despite a series of earlier covert operations, Saddam remained standing, thumbing his nose at the Western world. Nobody had any great ideas about how get rid of him. The United States, for better or worse, is not very good at this sort of thing. By executive order, it forbade assassination plots after the nation learned that the C.I.A. had, among other things, worked with the Mafia to bump off Fidel Castro. It has a democracy's distaste for secrecy and a superpower's disdain for subtlety. And it knows that some of the coups it carried off had dreadful sequels. In Guatemala, for example, or Iran.

The C.I.A. didn't have many spies to speak of in Baghdad, and no likely candidates to replace Mr. Hus-

sein. Its covert operators were a little rusty, having shut down the big efforts of the 1980's: smuggling billions of dollars of weapons into Afghanistan, spending hundreds of millions to fight leftists in Central America.

But if the United States wanted Mr. Hussein driven out by unseen hands, the C.I.A. had the only vehicle going: the White House could not leave the clandestine service standing in the garage like an aging sports car. So it oiled, gassed and revved up the secret machine.

### Small Potatoes

The agency created a \$20 million program of subversion — small potatoes by Pentagon standards but still more intense than any mounted before against Saddam; it was supposed to help build a new paramilitary force of Iraqi secret agents and recruit officers in Mr. Hussein's inner circle who might some day help overthrow him. The Congressional intelligence committees authorized and paid for it, though several once-gung-ho members now badmouth the operation with colorful barnyard epithets. ("Twenty million dollars to overthrow Saddam Hussein?" one Congressman said. "Please.") But it was better than nothing, all agreed.

So the C.I.A. pulled on its boots and began building a secret mission out of thin air. It already had a small cadre of cold-war-hardened officers based in northern Iraq, a "safe zone" policed by United States warplanes. The officers helped smuggle Iraqi military defectors out of Iraq and into the paramilitary operation.

The mission posed some classic problems. It had to be small and secret. But if it was to be secret, how to send word to those in Baghdad who might join? And if it was to be small, how could it ever hope to overthrow Mr. Hussein?

In the end, it was not secret enough. Mr. Hussein infiltrated the group quickly. By August, the group's agents inside Iraq were dead.

And then, on Aug. 30, the C.I.A. base in northern Iraq had to close up shop when one of its supposed allies, the Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani, turned coat and invited 30,000 Iraqi soldiers into the zone. The C.I.A. has abandoned that base, but not its mission. "There are other activities under way," a Government official said.

Still, the death of several dozen trusted Iraqi agents is no small matter. Nor is the task at hand. "Saddam devotes a lot more resources to his self-preservation than you are able to marshal for his removal," said Richard

Haass, a former national security aide to President Bush now at the Brookings Institution. And William E. Odom, a retired general and a former director of the National Security Agency, observed that "covert action makes the least sense when you're trying to achieve a foreign policy goal on the sly without facing up to the strategic implications" — that is, trying to overthrow Mr. Hussein with no one to supplant him.

### Something to Do

So why go on, if the chances of success are vanishingly small? The spooks have simple answers. Nations have spied ever since Joshua hit Jericho. Every President since Harry Truman has turned to the C.I.A. for down-and-dirty solutions his soldiers and diplomats cannot provide. The world is a dangerous place. And the clandestine service cannot be seen doing nothing when a certain dictator is driving the President crazy.

"It's something the President can do when he's frustrated," said Allen E. Goodman, a former top C.I.A. administrator who is now dean of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. "It's what you do when you want to feel tough."

## A Stalemate Buys Time In a Place Like Bosnia

Continued From Page 1

envisioned a period of newly elected representatives of the people going to work in their peaceful assembly halls. But the truth may be that only more troops will make that picture a reality, says Barnett Rubin, director of the Center for Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

"The question is: Are you going to commit the resources to make the elections mean something?" he asked, noting that Carl Bildt, the highest-ranking civilian official representing the world's nations in Bosnia, has suggested that the NATO-led international force should be extended two years beyond the present December deadline. "We may quibble about the length of time," Mr. Rubin said. "But no one believes they can leave in December."

### Wilson's Echoes Fade

For a while after the end of the cold war — a period as optimistic, perhaps, as the heady days of post-World-War-I Wilsonian diplomacy — it seemed that more than stalemates and patchwork diplomacy would be possible. Failed countries would be rebuilt wholesale by peacekeepers, international civil servants and experts ready to reconstruct everything from pylons to parliaments. The United Nations, for one, found itself at what Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali called in an interview last week "the beginning of a new experience."

"Before, there were clear classifications," he said. "You had peacekeeping and the blue helmets, then the problem of refugees, then relief, then reconstruction." When putting all this together into one mammoth nation-saving operation became possible, the task needed "a whole change in this institution," Mr. Boutros-Ghali said. "I'm certainly in favor of this." But the most influential members of the United Nations were not.

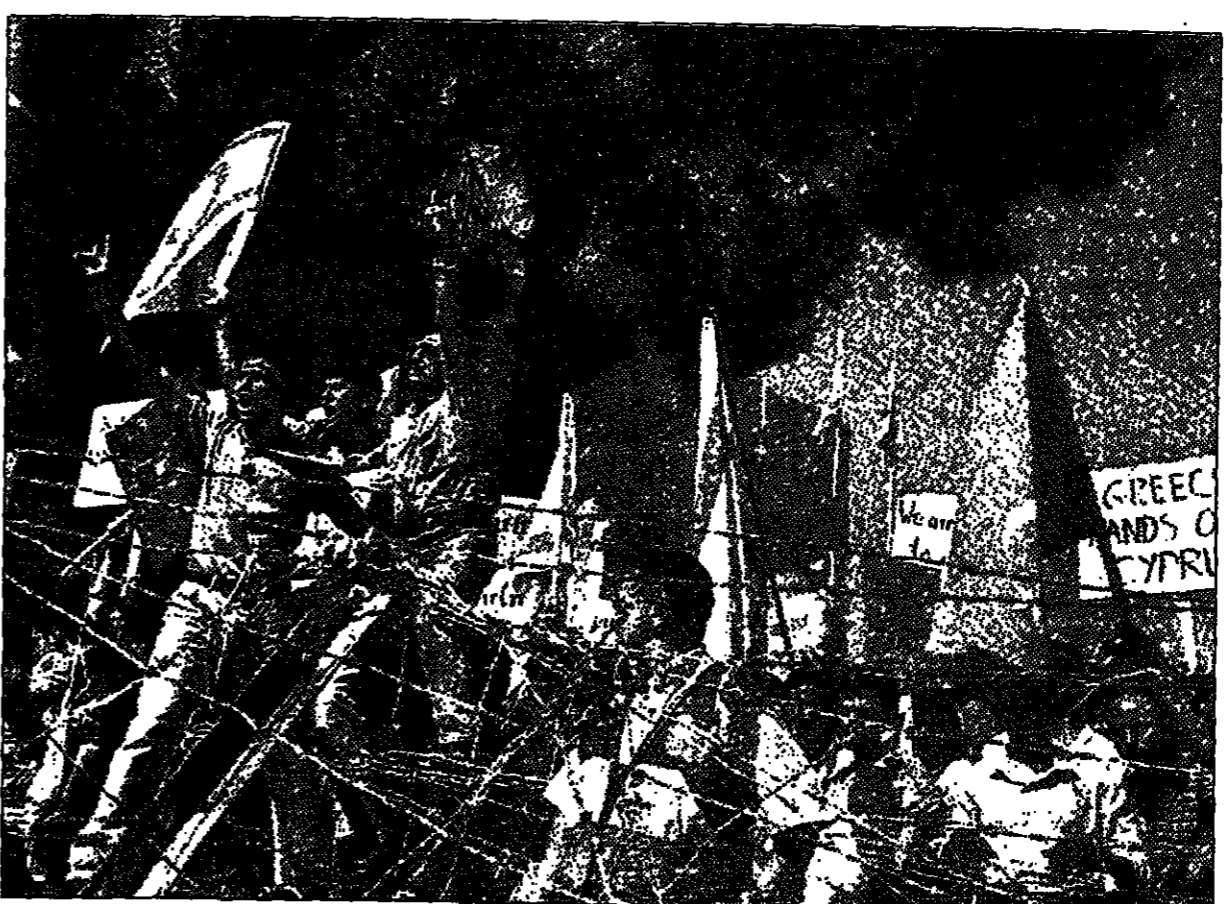
"Our new culture is for quick results, for limited spans of attention," he said. "We are not ready to think of

long-term or even middle-term problems. There is a Chinese proverb that says how difficult it is to obtain money for medicine but how easy to obtain money for a coffin. The governments are ready to spend money when the accident happens because they feel that they have a moral responsibility. But if you ask for money or attention to prevent an accident or if you are asking for money to follow up — to prevent the recurrence of the accident — they are not ready."

"Once the operation is finished, then everybody's in a hurry to leave," he said. "If you have spent \$2 billion to achieve peace, to achieve reconciliation, why don't you spend six additional months there to be sure that no accidents will happen during the convalescence?"

In El Salvador, which has known recurring cycles of violence, the United Nations guided the warring sides to peace in 1992 and continued for three years to work on the fundamental problems that had caused the civil war. But the job is not finished, particularly in the fields of human rights and land redistribution, a procession of Salvadoran leaders have been saying on visits here. They want the United Nations to stay. The Security Council, satisfied that the shooting war is over, shut down the mission instead.

Politics, domestic and international, is one explanation for a reluctance to stay the course. A group of nations working on how to rebuild wounded civilizations found in meetings here over the last year that countries get very touchy over intrusions on national sovereignty. The working group cannot even use the word democracy among its stated goals because China and others object. On the other hand, when powerful nations have strong interests in long-term solutions, a very effective operation can be put in place, and stay. The United States in Haiti is a good example; even last week, Americans were rushing to protect President René Préval while he was overhauling his security detail. Cambodia is another case in point: China and the United States agreed to an overhaul there because a stalemate would have left a pro-Vietnamese party in power.



Turkish Cypriots protesting this month on Cyprus in their long-stalemate conflict with Greek Cypriots.

A lack of international machinery to oversee the rebuilding of nations is often cited when countries walk quickly away from a conflict-prone place. Arthur C. Helton, an international lawyer specializing in refugee issues, said strategies to keep stalemates from disintegrating are lacking because too often decisions on when to act "are driven by politics or crises." The result is a list of semi-successes or failures.

"Look at the four biggest examples," he said.

"Cambodia: The commitment is waning and the situation is still extremely fluid. Northern Iraq: We've just seen what's happened there. Somalia, of course, was a catastrophe in terms of the international community's experimentation with humanitarian intervention. And cleansers of the new world disorder."

Unless, of course, the Bosnians themselves can use the period of stalemate to set a new course.



# The Nation

## The Packaging Of a Perpetrator

By STEPHEN LABATON

THE perp walk got a new look in Arkansas last week, when a mini-skirted Susan McDougal was led from the United States Courthouse and Post Office Building in Little Rock in chains and leg irons for vowing to maintain her silence about her former partner in the Whitewater venture, Bill Clinton.

It was an odd twist on the customary perp walk, a decades-long tradition designed to satisfy a hungry press corps, permit cops to gloat over their latest catch, help prosecutors mold public opinion and humiliate suspects who find themselves in the government's crosshairs. The opprobrium of the typical Walk of the Perpetrator before reporters and photographers has compelled many

courthouse door used by all prisoners in Little Rock, and no attempt was made by the authorities to either help or hinder the flocking cameras.

Other authorities said the rule's only exception is for prisoners with physical infirmities, but black stockings and pumps don't count. The leg chains may be removed for steps and other obstacles, the rules also say.

"Any inference that Mrs. McDougal was chained for a staged photo is simply ridiculous," said Bill Dempsey, a spokesman for the Marshals Service. He said the practice of shackling prisoners is at least 25 years old, and may actually go back to the founding of the Marshals Service in 1789. He said it is intended to protect both the marshals and the suspects.

"We do this for everyone, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, Indian chiefs. Noncompliance with the rule by a marshal is a very serious offense."

Still, in the constant public relations struggle between prosecutors and defendants, the perp walk has almost always worked in the prosecutors' favor, leaving the image of a suspect as a true villain. In courtrooms, judges rarely permit the authorities to chain defendants in the presence of jurors for fear of such a prejudicial sight; but what they can't get across in court, the authorities can convey by permitting television cameras to capture a defendant moving in and out of the courthouse.

Indeed, the public perceptions of Theodore Kaczynski, (accused of being the Unabomber), Timothy McVeigh (accused of bombing the Federal building in Oklahoma City) and Aldrich Ames (the master C.I.A. mole for Moscow), have been shaped by the images of them paraded in chains.

It also helps if the prisoner is left unshaven and unkempt, or is provided the standard-issue orange jumpsuit that makes it appear as though he has already been convicted. Small wonder, then, that Mrs. McDougal chose a white blouse and a pleated skirt.



Susan McDougal, in chains at court Monday, following in notorious footsteps.

### Susan McDougal in chains, and other perp walk stories.

a prisoner to struggle to conceal a face or a manacled pair of wrists under a coat, hat or anything else at hand.

The walk done right is also supposed to make the prisoner look dangerous, like someone who would mail package bombs for two decades, blow up a building in Oklahoma City or attempt to assassinate a President. But last week in Little Rock, it made the Marshals Service look like the heavy.

For Mrs. McDougal, who in her campaign to avoid jail has been trying in recent days to evoke public sympathy and portray herself as a victim, her shackled gait could not have been better choreographed if it had been arranged by her lawyers. Walking cautiously in front of the whirring cameras, Mrs. McDougal played perfectly the role she has sought to cast herself in: wide-eyed and innocent bit player in the legal battle between the Whitewater independent counsel and the White House.

### The Housewife Idea

In television interviews shortly before her incarceration, she had asserted she was no different from the ordinary housewife who signed a couple's financial papers with little knowledge of what they were. (Investigators have a far different account: Whitewater prosecutors have already proved to a jury that she knowingly defrauded the Federal Government of \$300,000, while California authorities are hoping to try her soon on charges that she stole \$150,000 from the conductor Zubin Mehta and his wife when she worked for them.)

Her walk prompted scores of complaints to the office of the Whitewater independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, even though by all accounts, Mr. Starr and his deputies had nothing to do with how Mrs. McDougal was taken away.

Federal marshals said last week that they treated Mrs. McDougal no differently than any other prisoner in their custody. Their rules require that any prisoner in transit be shackled with leg-chains and handcuffs linked to a waist-chain.

"We're required to do that for everyone," said Conrad Pattillo, the United States Marshal for the Eastern District of Arkansas. "It's a service-wide requirement." Mrs. McDougal used the same



Most suspects are paraded, like Theodore Kaczynski, left, in jumpsuit. A few get cover (that's John Gotti at right, in 1986).



### Principled Resignations

## When Quitting Is Un-American

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

WASHINGTON — Two prominent officials in the Department of Health and Human Services resigned in protest last week over President Clinton's welfare policy, it represented an unusual twist in American politics.

In Britain and many other parliamentary democracies, political history is well marked by officials resigning as a matter of principle. But there is no such tradition in this country.

Some of the most illustrious British politicians in this century — David Lloyd George, Anthony Eden and Aneurin Bevan, to name three — quit the Government at one time or another in protest. Most recently, David Heathcoat-Amory resigned in July as Paymaster-General because he disagreed with the Conservative Party's position on relations with the European Community.

Others in Britain have resigned not because they disagreed with Government policy but because they felt responsible for policies that turned sour. For example, after Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands in 1982, Lord Carrington resigned as Foreign Secretary, saying simply: "I have been responsible for the conduct of the policy. I think it right that I resign."

In contrast, Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of



Peter B. Edelman.

Health and Human Services, and Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich have made no secret of their disagreement with Mr. Clinton's decision to sign the welfare legislation, but they remain firmly ensconced in the Cabinet.

As he writes in his new book, "Who's in Control," Richard G. Darman knew that Ronald Reagan's tax cut in 1981 was grounded in faulty economics and would result in a disastrous budget deficit, but Mr. Darman remained in top Administration positions for 12 years.

### Loyalty and Influence

And Robert S. McNamara dutifully executed the escalation of the war in Vietnam even though he now says he was opposed to the policy. In his tormented book, "In Retrospect," this is how he explains why he did not resign as President Lyndon B. Johnson's Secretary of Defense: "I was loyal to him, and I sensed his equally strong feelings toward me. Moreover, until the day I left, I believed I could influence his decisions."

Principled resignations are not unheard of here. Cyrus R. Vance quit as President Jimmy Carter's Secretary of State because he opposed the abortive military raid to free the hostages in Iran. Elliot L. Richardson quit as Richard M. Nixon's Attorney General rather than fire the special prosecutor, Archibald Cox. Several mid-level officials resigned from the State Department in the Bush and Clinton Administrations because, they said, they objected to the Bosnia policy.

But such cases are rare. When officials here quit over policy, they usually do so quietly. More often, they stay on.

That is why many students of American politics found it refreshing when the Health and Human Services officials — Mary Jo Bane, an assistant secretary, and Peter B. Edelman, an acting assistant secretary — resigned last week, joining Wendell E. Primus, a deputy

assistant secretary, who had resigned over the welfare issue last month.

Edward Weisband, a political science professor at Virginia Tech, said he thought "the public would be well served if our system would allow officials to resign and go public more often when they felt deep disagreement on principle."

The main reason why more British officials resign over policy is that the British Cabinet acts collectively. Each member can be held publicly accountable for the actions of the entire Government. But in the United States, no one would hold Mr. Reich accountable for, say, the air strikes in Iraq.

But Mr. Weisband, a coauthor of a 1975 book surveying the subject called "Resignation in Protest," suggested a more subtle reason. Government officials in the United States, unlike Britain, most often come from law firms or corporate offices where loyalty and team play are overarching values.

Loyalty and team play are not necessarily unethical or unwise, said Michael Josephson, president of a research center on ethics in California, who advises politicians, Government officials and business executives. "My advice is usually not to resign unless it is a matter of total conscience," Mr. Josephson said, "not just something you disagree with, but something that is completely beyond your conscience."



Mary Jo Bane.

## What Welfare Research?

By ROBERT PEAR

IN trying to remake the nation's welfare system, members of Congress and President Clinton rarely cite any data or research to support their arguments. And for good reason. The data are skimpy, and on many important questions, the research results are ambiguous, contradictory, confusing or nonexistent.

In a survey of the available research, Robert A. Moffitt, an economist at Johns Hopkins University, said that studies of people moving on and off welfare "appear to suffer from a lack of theoretical content and from a failure adequately to construct testable hypotheses."

More than 4.5 million adults receive monthly cash payments through the main welfare program, Aid to Families With Dependent Children. But it is difficult to determine from Government data how many of them work while on welfare or how long they stay on the rolls.

Many members of Congress want to change the behavior of welfare recipients, to increase work effort and reduce out-of-wedlock childbearing. But Mr. Moffitt said that lawmakers had "ignored even the small amount of research" that has been done on the effects of various incentives.

### Little Demand

By contrast, a student of health insurance or pension policy can find dozens of studies by Government agencies, business organizations, labor unions, Wall Street analysts and actuaries describing who gets what benefits. For such research, there is a large market.

Christine Seltz, a spokeswoman for Hewitt Associates, an employee benefits consulting firm based in Lincolnshire, Ill., said, "When a company considers offering a new benefit, it wants to know whether such benefits are prevalent in its industry, in its region and nationwide."

But there is less demand for data on welfare benefits.

For social insurance programs like Social Security, the Government keeps detailed data on a person's work history and lifetime earnings to compute benefits. But there is no need for such data in determining who gets A.F.D.C. All that matters is a person's income and assets.

It is relatively easy for the Federal Government to collect data on Social Security, Medicare and

### No one knows what kind of welfare works because few people need to know.

food stamps because Congress sets uniform national eligibility criteria and the Federal Treasury pays the entire cost of benefits. By contrast, welfare varies from state to state. So the task of compiling data is more formidable.

Social Security is able to provide an abundance of data to defend its programs. For example, it says, "12 percent of the aged are poor, and 42 percent are kept out of poverty by their Social Security benefits," so more than half of the elderly would be below the official poverty line without Social Security.

But welfare has proved harder to track and thus harder to defend. The number of people in a household, the number of workers and the amount of income change frequently. Few welfare recipients have regular work habits. Some work in the underground economy.

Barbara Boyle Torrey, executive director of the Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education at the National Academy of Sciences, said: "Poverty is a very dynamic concept. Because people continually go in and out of poverty, you need to be able to follow the same person over time. That is difficult."

### No Complaints

What's more, in recent years, it seems, poor people have been less outspoken, less well organized and less likely to report the effects of changes in Government programs. While a small cut in the cost-of-living adjustment for Social Security would generate a torrent of mail to Congress and studies from the American Association of Retired Persons, welfare recipients register few protests when the purchasing power of their benefits erodes.

Studies of welfare are often confounded by other factors as well. Changes in the economy at large, like a recession or strong economic growth, can obscure the effects of changes in welfare policy. Moreover, there are complex interactions between welfare and other benefit programs like food stamps and Medicaid, which are often changed by Congress at the same time. Thus, researchers have found it difficult to separate and measure the effects of each change.

Of course, there have been many attempts to study the effects of welfare, and Democrats cited some of those studies in defending parts of the current system. But Republicans in Congress tended to view data on the old welfare system as irrelevant to the new world they were creating.

So what about the future? Evelyn Ganzglass, director of employment and social services policy at the National Governors' Association, said, "We're entering largely uncharted territory," with time limits on benefits, and no one entitled to any specific amount of cash assistance.

Under the new law, states can go off in 50 different directions. Each state is supposed to collect data on each family receiving Federal aid, and in theory these reports will provide a treasure-trove for researchers.

But Peter T. Gottschalk, a visiting scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York, is doubtful. "States will have every incentive to make it look as if their programs are successful," he said. "Unless you have impartial data, it will be impossible to determine whether these reforms succeed or fail."



# The Nation

## Civil Rights Dance Lesson: The Tiny Step Forward

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

WASHINGTON  
**T**WO bills. Two votes. Two defeats for gay rights advocates. And one edifying lesson on how far they have taken their movement for equality — and how far they have to go.  
 Last week's votes in the Senate — on a measure permitting states not to recognize gay marriages legally performed in another state and on one to prohibit job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation — were a clear illustration of the country's variegated view of homosexuality. The marriage bill was approved by a lopsided 85-to-14 vote amid strident calls for lawmakers to defend the sanctity of heterosexual marriage. The employment measure was defeated by one vote, despite pleas that competent and dedicated workers should not be fired on the basis of whom they sleep with.  
 The mixed messages in the two votes reflect public ambivalence towards gays and lesbians. Opinion polls indicate that about 85 percent of Americans support equal rights for gay people in job opportunities, while about 60 percent oppose legally sanctioned gay marriages. To some gay-rights advocates, the differing views suggest how wide the gulf is between tolerance and full social acceptance of homosexuality.

### Strategic Imperative

And the public's ambivalence presents tricky questions of strategy for the gay rights movement. Its leaders say battles have to be chosen cautiously, tactics planned carefully. "That's what you have to figure out," said Elizabeth Birch, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign, a gay rights group. "What is the state of the

soil? What can grow there? Where is it the most fertile?" Other minority movements have recognized this strategic imperative. When he ran the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Thurgood Marshall, the late Supreme Court Justice, began with lawsuits to integrate graduate schools, reasoning that white and black adults attending classes together would be more immediately acceptable to judges and the public than would racially mixed classes of children. It was only after he won legal precedents that he went after the more emotionally charged issue of integration for schoolchildren.  
 So is America similarly more disposed to one small

### America isn't ready for gay marriages, but it's almost ready for equality on the job.

step at a time for gay men and women — like equality in the workplace — rather than one giant leap for gay humankind, like fully sanctioned homosexual marriages? "I think when people think of marriage, they think of sex," said Bridget Quinn, a Federal worker in Washington and a lesbian. "When people think gay and sex in the same phrase it just unnerves them. But when you think of the workplace, they think of colleagues, people doing the same thing they do. And they think, 'Why shouldn't Bridget be protected the same way I'm protected?'"  
 When people — gay or straight — think of marriage, they also tend to think of a religious ceremony, one that

involves lifelong vows made before God. Given the Biblical strictures against homosexuality, it is not surprising that many people see sacrilege in gay marriage ceremonies. "People aren't against gay marriage; they're against gay weddings," said one gay rights advocate who asked not to be identified.

A survey conducted in May by Lake Research, a Democratic polling firm, found that 67 percent of the respondents felt gay marriages went against their "religious beliefs." But when the issue of rights for gay couples is framed in non-religious contexts, society appears more sympathetic — to extending gay employees' health benefits to their domestic partners, for example. Over the years more than 300 companies, including Apple Computer and Eastman Kodak, have quietly set up programs to extend benefits to the partners of gay employees. The Disney Company has steadfastly maintained such a policy even in the face of boycott threats by conservative Christian groups. In the same Lake Research survey, 81 percent of respondents supported "inheritance rights for gay spouses."

Such gauges of opinion raise strategic concerns for gays that are perhaps more critical than those facing other groups like blacks and women. This is in part because, beyond the general indifference or hostility that homosexuals and lesbians face, gay rights leaders are leading a relatively small army. The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago found, in a rigorous and much-cited survey in 1994, that only 2.6 percent of adult men and 2.5 percent of adult women reported engaging in homosexual sex during the previous 12-month period. Some argue that the percentage of gays in the United States is much higher. But if their numbers are that small, gay people, much more than blacks or women, are more dependent on persuasion and the sympathy of strangers than sheer electoral clout.

Cohesiveness is another issue. Blacks' unity in the civil rights era was born largely of necessity, in response to a climate of fear and violence in the South often marked by lynchings. Gay Americans, who face hostility today but nothing like the dangers faced by blacks then, have yet to exhibit comparable unity and discipline.

### The Ultimate Issue?

In fact, the gay marriage issue arose from the actions of individuals who had little or no connection to organized groups. Three couples sued the state of Hawaii for denying them marriage licenses, and the Hawaiian Supreme Court ordered the state to show a compelling interest in denying them their wish to be legally joined. With expectations high that Hawaii will soon recognize same-sex marriages, religious conservatives introduced the anti-gay marriage bill in Congress.

But the couples say they were less interested in scoring political points than affirming their love. "We were just six people who wanted to get married," said Nina Baehner, one of the litigants.  
 Gay marriage split the gay community itself before the issue was brought to Congress. Some, like Andrew Sullivan, former editor of *The New Republic*, believe that marriage is the ultimate civil rights issue. "This really is equality," Mr. Sullivan said. "This is not some protected status, not a way that a minority can be cordoned off and condescended to. It's a fundamental statement that our loves are as good as anybody else's."  
 But others say battles like that for workplace equality should take precedence. Without such rights, some say, gay people will not be secure enough financially and psychologically to move into the mainstream and take on issues like marriage. "It's like that old song," said Ms. Quinn. "Romance without finance is a big chance."

### Government Warning

## Don't Smoke. Please. Pretty Please.

By LAURA MANSNERUS

**T**HIS may be an unhappy time to be a regulator, but hardly anyone except the cigarette companies had a critical word to say last month when President Clinton announced new steps by the Food and Drug Administration to limit the marketing of tobacco to minors.

As if in reply to Bob Dole, who had goosed a few weeks earlier by saying that smoking seems to be addictive to some people and not others, the President said the Government considers tobacco an addictive drug. Mr. Clinton, in the Rose Garden, was accompanied by 14 children in red T-shirts that announced, "Tobacco-Free Kids."

The regulations are under challenge in Federal court, and many experts outside the industry believe that the F.D.A. is exceeding its mandate from Congress and impinging upon advertisers' First Amendment rights.

What's more, proponents of the new rules don't entertain much hope that they will be a real deterrent. The only restriction on actual sales, for example, limits vending machines to adults-only areas; the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report that only 2 percent of teen-agers buy cigarettes from such machines.

So what is the real point of the regulations? To many social observers, their significance is more political and moral than practical or medical: The Government has decided to curtail as best it can one unhealthy indulgence, in the awareness that in a society that fosters individual freedom actual suppression is not practical or even possible.

Making it harder for people to hurt themselves is not something Americans like to do, notes Allan Brandt, a professor of the history of medicine at Harvard University. The notion of "it's my body and I'll do what I please" has done plenty to frustrate the anti-smoking movement, he said.

The Surgeon General documented the



The more adults say "no," the more attractive smoking becomes to teen-agers.

dangers of smoking in 1964. Mr. Brandt said, and "there's a strong strain in American culture that says that's the limit of regulation."

So, while anti-smoking forces celebrate the first significant Federal restrictions since cigarette ads were banished from television 25 years ago, they are celebrating rules that are mostly symbolic and aimed at youths.

### Controlling Desire

Still, symbols matter. "I'm trying to understand not the public health argument — of course it would be better if teen-agers didn't smoke — but the passion, this moral fervor, about smoking recently," said Thomas W.

Laqueur, a social historian at the University of California at Berkeley.

"Public health decisions are always moral decisions of some sort," he said. "Whatever it is that's causing this to be an issue isn't some discovery about the nature of tobacco, or the fact that it's addictive. It's an interest in controlling desires. When you start saying that the state has an interest in which desires can be gratified and which can't, it's a profound thing to do."

Indeed, the question of whether nicotine is addictive, as the Surgeon General declared it to be in 1988, was answerable in a general way when Columbus reported that his sailors, introduced to tobacco in Hispaniola, couldn't stop chewing and smoking. But Professor Brandt argues that more is known

now about addiction and cigarettes (even more than in the 1980's) and that including nicotine in the pantheon of addictive drugs, at least as it affects children, "changed how we think about cigarettes."

"Kids are not viewed as having the facilities for independent judgments," he said.

### Smoking Before Driving

At the same time, teen-age smoking has increased. In the C.D.C.'s latest survey, 34.8 percent of high school students 17 and under said they had smoked in the previous month, up from 27.5 percent in 1991. When asked if that might not be one result of cigarettes' increasingly forbidden nature, Dr. Michael Eriksen, head of the center's Office on Smok-

ing and Health, not only acknowledged the connection but said teen-age smoking is "almost a mathematical function" of adult disapproval.

Still, Dr. Eriksen says, adolescent perversity is no reason to give up: "Is it really going to make a difference that there are black-and-white-only ads instead of color? For a generation that would grow up without that linkage between glamor and cigarettes, we think, yes, it will make a difference."

Mr. Brandt notes that "the cigarette is an invention of the consumer culture, so part of the policing of desire is recognizing that there have been powerful forces" — the industry and its advertisers, that is — "promoting this risk."

### 'Reefer Madness'

Other generations, of course, have seen cigarettes reviled as well as promoted in cycles, which sometimes matched and sometimes contrasted with other prohibitions. While "Reefer Madness" was playing to horrified audiences in the 1930's, for example, Scientific American told them that even if cigarettes ("a packet of rest") did turn out to be risky, well, so was crossing the street. And today's awareness of the limits of regulation is in large part defined by the failure of Prohibition.

As to Mr. Laqueur's question — what now is the attraction of moral politics? — he offered one answer. "You could be cynical and say it's because there's no other kind of politics," Mr. Laqueur said, adding that "Clinton is not about to address something like the entitlements issue."

Another view is offered by Richard Kluger, author of "Ashes to Ashes" (Knopf, 1996), a history of the tobacco industry. He not only applauds the Federal role but hopes the F.D.A. will eventually force down the level of nicotine in cigarettes. "For Clinton to have seized upon this because it's a political issue is fine," he said. "It's great. That's what politicians are supposed to do."

## Some Images Stick. Some Don't.

Continued From Page 1

Federal prison on unrelated tax charges.

One explanation may be that the White House has been painfully slow in disclosing details of the Whitewater affair, perhaps inviting greater scrutiny. But Michael D. McCurry, the White House press secretary, offers another theory: "There's a difference between being President and being a candidate for President, and sometimes that leads to different standards."

### Blaming the Press

Both sides blame the press. "I resist talking about liberal bias in the media because it's unfruitful," said John Buckley, Mr. Dole's communications director. "But there is a visceral understanding that reporters have more culturally in common with this President than they do with the Republican nominee."

Though he left off the word "liberal," George Stephanopoulos, a senior adviser to the President, offered a similar plaint, saying the press fails to seize on allegations about Mr. Dole's business associations because "there is a bias in the elite press corps." He went on: "If the facts don't fit the story line, sometimes they're ignored."

Still, stereotypes are perpetuated because frequently they do reflect a degree of reality. Fair or unfair, reporters seized on Mr. Dole's exchange with Ms. Conrice because it fit with his reputation as sometimes lacking self control, a reputation earned from a few

well-publicized incidents earlier in his career. Even Mr. Dole's aides acknowledge that he would be less susceptible if he smiled more.

Stories about distant marital lapses by the 73-year-old Mr. Dole don't stick because they don't jibe with his present image as a political elder, and because it is not he but Mr. Clinton who has whetted the public appetite with allusions to lapses in his personal life. Thus, embarrassing accounts in *Gall Sheehy's* article in the current *Vanity Fair* about Mr. Dole's failed first marriage have created nary a ripple.  
 "A development is most likely to be a story for the press if it plays off a candidate's past foibles," said Mark Halperin, an ABC News producer who closely monitors the campaign. "Every Arkansan is now instantly suspect as a crook or an incompetent, while Kansans get the benefit of the doubt afforded to people of the other 48 states."

Dole campaign officials complain that Mr. Clinton has largely escaped criticism of his refusal to disclose all his medical records, while Mr. Dole has been far more forthcoming. Because Mr. Clinton is much younger, he seems to have gotten a pass on his health, while many voters are clearly concerned about Mr. Dole's in light of his age.

Dole aides also are quick to point out that while both the Democrats and Republicans have accepted millions of dollars in donations from tobacco interests, it is Republicans who are vilified. No doubt this is because Mr. Dole has been less inclined to attack the tobacco industry and equivocated

early in the campaign on whether nicotine was addictive.

And Mr. Dole's aides say that Mr. Clinton gets away with vicious attacks. Consider the Clinton TV commercial aired last week, featuring a dying girl to dramatize Mr. Dole's opposition to the Family Leave Act. Or, Vice President Al Gore's recent denunciation of "this two-headed monster of Dole-Gingrich."

### Dirty Pool

"If Dole were to make assertions like that with the same level of moral hysteria there would be a frenzy in the media," Mr. Buckley said. "There would be a revival of hand-wringing and people saying, 'See, they're trying to Willie Hortonize the race.'"

Yet it is the notion of Mr. Dole as the dirty player that is entrenched. Asked in the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll whether Mr. Clinton spent more time explaining his policies or attacking Mr. Dole, only 19 percent said attacking Mr. Dole. But 50 percent said Mr. Dole was spending more time attacking the President.

Mr. Stephanopoulos counters with examples of his own, like Mr. Dole's assertion that he would support the current ban on assault weapons, "particularly in New England," where voters strongly support gun control. "Imagine the uproar if the President said he signed the welfare bill to appease angry white males in the South," Mr. Stephanopoulos said. "Bob Dole does a total flip and does it for an avowedly political motive and everybody yawns."



Mean Spirited: Bob Dole is not famous for his smiles.



Bill Clinton is not known for his temper, but he did storm off after hearing a news-conference question he didn't like.

Preconceptions (or misconceptions) are tough to shake. They worked to Mr. Clinton's benefit the other day when he was in Covington, Tenn., and instead addressed the citizens of Covington, Ky. — and even Covington, Mass., which doesn't exist. Mr. Clinton — he of the legendary glib tongue — emerged unscathed where George Bush or Dan

Quayle would have been skewered. But, as Mr. Quayle knows, the story line often seems set in indelible ink. Even after the Washington Post wrote a series contending that he had more gravitas than the common wisdom held, Mr. Quayle's reputation as a shallow bumbler stuck. The book on Dan Quayle was already written.

صكدا من الاصل



ECONOMY

An Asian Billionaire Tries to Fly by the New Rules

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

EARLIER this summer, the largest tax evasion case on the planet landed in the lap of the Supreme Court of the Philippines. Lucio Tan, one of the country's richest men, stood accused of evading more than \$1 billion in taxes.

The Government, many economists and a large segment of the business community argued that losing the case against Mr. Tan would risk the very integrity of the Philippine state. But a sharply divided Supreme Court faulted the Government for failing to give Mr. Tan adequate notice in pursuit of its case, and dismissed the case.

Score another one for Mr. Tan, a 62-year-old Chinese immigrant who has become a billionaire legend for his brazen business ways and his seeming invincibility. Using street-smart strategies, Mr. Tan has built an empire that spans banking and brewing, tobacco and trading as well as real estate development. But he also benefited from political cronyism reaching back to Ferdinand Marcos and Government-granted monopolies. For years Mr. Tan has refused to disclose financial data on his companies to the Government. In the beer and cigarette business, he was given open-ended tax breaks

that allow him a big competitive advantage. And with the Philippine Congress debating a major tax overhaul, he is peddling a plan to give his breweries an even greater edge over his leading competitor.

In the process, he has faced accusations of not only tax evasion but also corruption, receiving political favors, and ruthlessness. Mr. Tan and his lieutenants steadfastly maintain that no legal case has ever been proved against them.

But now, as the Philippines follows other Asian nations in trying to open its economy and become another Asian tiger, the rules are changing. And Mr. Tan intends to prove he can win at this game, too. To do so, he is taking on a challenge that even his own advisers consider folly: to fix Philippine Airlines, the money-losing national carrier known as P.A.L. or, among its critics, "Planes Always Late."

This time, there is no Ferdinand Marcos to help him with tax favors; indeed, Mr. Tan is out of favor with the current President. And this time he has no ready-made monopoly; the airline faces competition from a spate of domestic start-ups and sleek, efficient Asian carriers.

Just as the economy here is in transition, Mr. Tan himself is trying to transform his image from Marcos crony with sweetheart deals to respected businessman who put the airline on course for sustained prof-

its and ended its years on the public dole.

Mr. Tan declined to be interviewed for this article. But from his rare public comments, it seems that his obsession with Philippine Airlines stems from a determination to achieve what many think impossible as well as from a chance to demonstrate a public commitment to his adopted country. As Teresita Ang See, who runs a research center on the Chinese in the Philippines, points out, there is still tension between ethnic Filipinos and ethnic Chinese, fueled in part by the sense among many ethnic Filipinos that the Chinese have prospered at their expense and hold a disproportionate sway over the Filipino economy.

Because of this, some people here believe that Mr. Tan's takeover of the national airline is a way of asserting his Philippine identity. For Mr. Tan, who speaks poor English and Tagalog when he cannot converse in his native Fujian dialect, this is not unimportant.

Last March, at the airline's 55th anniversary dinner, Mr. Tan confessed that the airline takeover was really an "emotional" decision. "This is 100 percent emotion," he told employees. "This is my contribution."

Emotion alone will not salvage the floundering airline. For years, Philippine Airlines has piled on losses and staff. Since 1983, the carrier has lost at least \$408 million. According to Airline Business magazine, the carrier had a net loss last year of \$68.1 million on revenue of about \$1.1 billion.

The airline, which ranked 56th worldwide in revenue last year, between Aeroflot and Aerolineas Argentinas, has wallowed around Asia with aging planes, bad service and approved but unused routes. For years it had been run by political cronies who looted its assets and neglected its modernization. It was a basket case in the fiercely competitive Asian market, which is bustling with crisp, efficient and profitable carriers like Singapore Airlines and Thai Airways.

It is no accident that Cathay Pacific's flights to Manila are solidly booked in all classes while seats always seem to be available on Philippine Airline flights.

Yet, the allure of controlling a national airline, even one as bedeviled as this one, proved irresistible.

"Mr. Tan started investing in the airline in 1982, when the airline was privatized by Mrs. Aquino's administration," Jaime J. Bautista, a longtime executive with Mr. Tan's companies and now the chief financial officer of Philippine Airlines, said of Corazon C. Aquino, who had succeeded Mr. Marcos as President. "Being a taipan in the Philippines, it is a challenge to him to take over a very challenging business."

In 1992, a group of Philippine investors agreed to commit about 10 billion pesos, roughly \$400 million, into a consortium called PR Holdings to buy two-thirds of the airline. When one of the leading investors failed to come up with his half of the capital, he secretly turned to Mr. Tan for help. "He agreed to invest about 5 billion pesos as a silent investor," Mr. Bautista recalled of Mr. Tan. "There was an agreement that he would not come into the open, but he wanted to be consulted."

Mr. Tan scrupulously hid his participation in the takeover because of an aggressive series of moves by the Government of President Aquino against Mr. Tan and his companies. Mr. Tan, whose close ties to Mr. Marcos included preferential tax status, had faced a series of investigations into accusations of corruption and tax evasion. At one point, the Government failed in a legal attempt to seize his companies.

Even as a business matter, Mr. Tan's lust for the national carrier seemed risky to his senior aides.

"I was involved in the cigarette and beer business," Mr. Bautista said, referring to the Fortune Tobacco Company and Asia Brewery Inc., two of Mr. Tan's flagships. "There was a consensus among the senior executives that it was very difficult investing in an airline. We don't know the business. We knew the airline was beset by problems. We knew P.A.L.'s people were known to be involved in graft and corruption. But

he wanted to make it his personal challenge."

Mr. Tan's involvement in the airline, and his momentum toward complete control, came to light only after a series of management wars at the airline. Philippine President Fidel V. Ramos was so enraged at Mr. Tan's subterfuge that he authorized the licensing of a second national airline, Grand International Airways, to compete against Philippine Airlines.

For Mr. Ramos, Mr. Tan's attack on the airline presented a quandary. On the one hand, the Government was desperate to privatize a falling state enterprise. On the other, Mr. Tan was anathema to post-Marcos Governments. In the end, Mr. Ramos decided, on the advice of many of his advisers, to let the takeover go through. Last week, the airline's shareholders approved it.

It remains unclear whether Mr. Tan can turn the airline around. His executives profess that the carrier may show a profit this year, although it will be so slim that it will fit into a billfold. Like Mr. Tan, his competitors here, including John Gokongwei, another leading Filipino-Chinese businessman, who runs Grand Airways, declined to be interviewed.

Lucio Tan was born in the Chinese coastal province of Fujian and little is publicly known about his rise to fortune. When he was still a young boy, his parents fled the chaos of China and moved him and his six brothers and sisters to sleepy Cebu in the middle of the Philippines archipelago. Arriving with virtually nothing, he struggled like many other immigrants to the Philippines; for a time he worked as a janitor, later as a dock worker. Various stories surround his emergence into the ranks of powerful businessmen here and into one of the world's richest men. According to Forbes magazine, his holdings are roughly valued at \$2.2 billion but no one outside the Tan clan seems to know for sure. What is known is that his ties to President Marcos did much to fuel his success.

Within the tight Chinese social and business network, opportunities for credit abounded and business practices were less hindered by tradition and convention than for the landed aristocracy and Spanish business houses of the country. More, the Chinese showed extraordinary flexibility in dealing with a series of political regimes. And one was as adept in their footwork as Mr. Tan.

Indeed, the success of Chinese family empires throughout southeast Asia can be attributed in no small part to an indifference toward the nature of the political regime of the moment. And in many cases, exemplified here by Mr. Tan and in Indonesia by several dominant Chinese tycoons, substantial support in the early days of regimes has been rewarded with lavish contracts, licenses and monopolies.

Mr. Tan's first major venture was in the cigarette business and the founding of Fortune Tobacco in 1966. With tax breaks and near-monopoly licenses, he quickly captured the dominant share of the Philippine cigarette market with his Champion brand smokes. "It was," a Manila banker put it, "a license to print money." Today, Fortune commands 67 percent of the cigarette market.

In 1977, as the Philippines labored under the rigors of martial law, Mr. Tan and a group of Filipino-Chinese businessmen banded together and acquired a small, floundering bank, General Banking and Trust. Mr. Tan changed the bank's name to the Allied Banking Corporation.

Today, from its headquarters at Makati Avenue in Manila's thriving business district, Allied is the country's eighth-largest bank, according to Moody's. On the bank's worn second-floor executive headquarters, the language that drifts from offices and down the central hallway is Mr. Tan's native Fujian dialect.

Three years after Mr. Tan's foray into banking, President Marcos gave him a license to open Asia Brewery Inc. to compete against the San Miguel Corporation, the old Spanish brewer that had a monopoly in the Philippines and was the country's only real multinational. Wiseacres at



Like the Philippines, Lucio Tan wants to improve his image.

the time suggested that the new beer would be called Lucifer, a contraction of the first names of Lucio Tan and Ferdinand Marcos. Mr. Tan reciprocated Mr. Marcos's favors with substantial contributions to the President's election campaigns; Mr. Tan's critics denounced the donations as bribes.

Despite the favoritism shown by Mr. Marcos, Mr. Tan also displayed a ferocious desire for his companies to succeed on their own merits. A former Government adviser on privatization and a management expert here contend Mr. Tan has thrived in the sharply shifting political winds by being a smart entrepreneur.

"He's very good at taking care of his people," said the former adviser, who maintained that he could be more candid by speaking anonymously. "He believes in single proprietorship; he has no listed companies. He believes in getting the most modern equipment."

Still, this former adviser said: "Lucio Tan is very secretive. Many Filipino Chinese wield a lot of influence here, but Lucio Tan maybe wields the most. He has the most political connections of everyone. He's funded almost every Congressman."

It is in Congress where Mr. Tan has waged one of his biggest battles. Under stiff demands from the International Monetary Fund, which is a major lender to the Philippines, the Philippine Government is attempting to rewrite its tax laws. A major element of the revision entails changing the formula used for calculating the excise tax on cigarettes and beer, revisions that would sharply increase the taxes paid by Mr. Tan's companies.

Because Mr. Tan releases no financial data on any of his companies — despite requirements by the country's Securities and Exchange Commission that all companies, public or private, do so — it is impossible to determine the profitability of his cigarette and beer operations. As for revenues, discussions with financial analysts and competitors suggest that Fortune Tobacco's were about \$670 million last year, and that Asia Brewery's were in the neighborhood of \$215 million, about 20 percent of the beer market.

The Philippine Department of Finance contends that not only do Mr. Tan's companies underpay taxes, but also that he employs a variety of schemes to evade accurate assessments of his existing tax liability. Based on its findings, the department devised a simplified excise tax code that would make such cheating difficult or impossible and would eliminate the favorable, open-ended low tax brackets Mr. Tan had obtained for his products. The department submitted the proposal in legislative form to Congress as part of the overall tax overhaul package.

"There was very strong opposition from him, and it was translated into opposition from members of Congress," said Milwida M. Guevara, the Undersecretary of Finance. "We say everybody should pay the same amount on each bottle, on each pack of cigarettes. We say companies should compete on quality and brand name, not on special tax preferences."

After a blizzard of lobbying by Mr. Tan's companies, an alternative tax proposal was put forward by some members of Congress. "They have

come up with a compromise that is worse than this current system," Ms. Guevara said.

Mr. Tan's only competitor in the beer market, San Miguel, reacted with fury to the new bill. "It seemed specifically designed to put us at a marketing disadvantage," said a senior executive at San Miguel, who preferred that his name not be used. "He wants to carve out a larger market share through this tax bill."

At the same time, Mr. Tan has remained embroiled in a tax evasion case of cosmic dimensions. For years, the Government has pushed a case through the court system charging Mr. Tan with evading 25.6 billion pesos in taxes, about \$1 billion. In June, in a 3-to-2 decision, the Supreme Court dismissed the case against Mr. Tan, a move that was greeted with a public uproar and accusations of payoffs to the justices. So deafening was the criticism of the court that it felt compelled to take the bizarre step of issuing a letter denying that it had been bribed.

But President Ramos left no doubt where he stood on the court's decision. "The decision of the Supreme Court First Division is certainly a setback," Mr. Ramos declared. "It has a grave implication on the Government's effort to proceed against those who violate our tax laws."

The dean of newspaper columnists in Manila, Amanda Doronila, who writes for The Philippine Daily Inquirer, put the matter bluntly. "The Court just delivered another blow to further weaken the state on the capacity to raise revenue," he wrote.

"No business entrepreneur in the history of this country has been more successful in gaining his objectives in the strategic economic, political and judicial arenas in so short a time than Lucio Tan," he wrote. "Lucio Tan appears unstoppable."

Estelito P. Mendoza, Mr. Tan's chief lawyer and the solicitor general for part of Mr. Marcos's regime, noted that Mr. Tan's victory in the Supreme Court did not mean that the Government had given up or that Mr. Tan was home free. "Now that we have won does not mean that Fortune Tobacco does not owe the Government," he said.

Still, despite the implications of his tax case and the problematic fate of the Government's tax package, many business people believe not only that Mr. Tan will continue to thrive, but also that he is a needed force in the economic revival of the country.

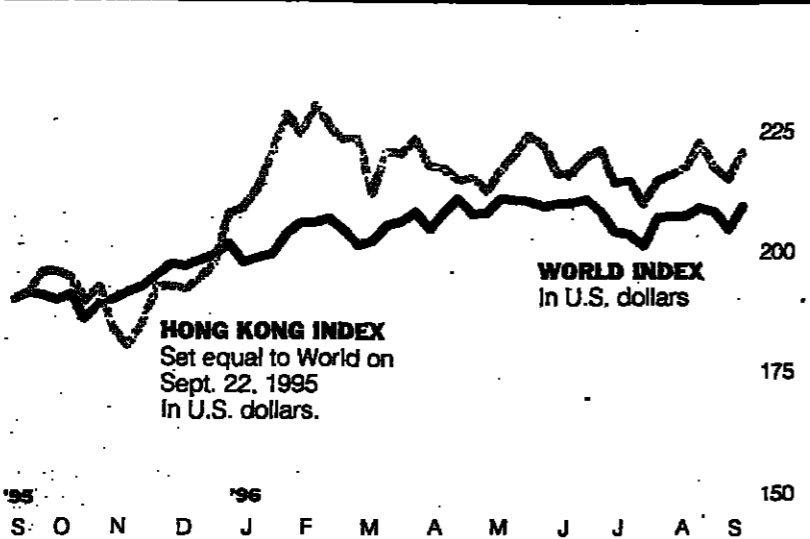
"Yes, he's having real problems with the executive" branch of the Government, said Gregorio U. Kilayko, the president of ING Barings Securities (Philippines) Inc. "But the Government realized that the only way to save Philippine Airlines was to let him run it. He had real trouble getting financing from local banks for the airline because of worries about liabilities from his tax cases. But he got it."

Mr. Tan is moving aggressively on a range of fronts, from Philippine Airlines to property interests abroad — and even in beer. Although he is now clunking around in the low-priced end of the beer market with Beer na Beer (translated roughly as Really Beer), Mr. Tan's Asia Brewery just won rights from Anheuser-Busch International to produce Budweiser beer in the Philippines.

In Hong Kong, Mr. Tan's development group, Eton Properties, run by his brother Frank Chan, has grown to become one of the top 15 developers in the territory. With as much as \$500 million invested in commercial and residential property in Hong Kong, Mr. Tan has used the territory as a base to expand into China. Already, Mr. Tan has property investments, of unknown size, in Shanghai, Beijing and Xiamen.

With a bit of arm-twisting from President Ramos, Mr. Tan has teamed up with six other Filipino-Chinese tycoons to form an infrastructure group, the Asia's Emerging Dragon Corporation. Each of the tycoons anted up 100 million pesos, about \$3.8 million, to get the consortium off the ground. Its first project is building a new passenger terminal at the decrepit international airport in Manila, a project already under court challenge from other developers who want a piece of the action.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Table with columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., Rank, Dividend Yield, YTD % Chg., Index, YTD % Chg.

COMPOSITE INDICES

Table with columns: Region, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., Rank, Dividend Yield, YTD % Chg.

CURRENCIES

Table with columns: Exchange rates, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close

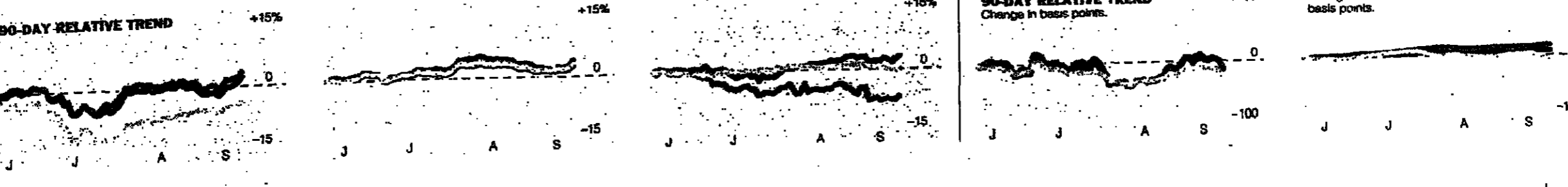
Sept. 9-13: Bears Are Put on the Defensive as the Dow and the S.&P. 500 Hit Record Highs

Table with columns: PRICES, DOMESTIC EQUITIES, Broad market, S. & P. 500 index, Blue chips, Dow 30 Industrials, Small capitalization, Russell 2000 index

Table with columns: DOMESTIC BONDS, Treasuries, Ryan Labs. Total Return, Municipals, Bond Buyer index, Corporates, Merrill Lynch Master index

Table with columns: AROUND THE WORLD, European stocks, F.T.-Actuaries Europe, Asian stocks, F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin, Gold, New York cash price

Table with columns: YIELDS, BONDS, Long bonds, 30-year Treasuries, Notes, 2-year Treasuries, Municipals, Bond Buyer index, OTHER INVESTMENTS, Money market funds, Taxable average, Bank C.D.'s, 1-year small savers, Stocks, S. & P. 500 dividend yield



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs



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## Mr. Dole Bumps a Good Treaty

It is not uncommon for election-year politics to contaminate Congressional lawmaking, but a vitally important international treaty should not be cynically sacrificed for political advantage. That is what happened last week when Bob Dole reached back into the Senate to block the expected approval of an agreement banning the development, production, stockpiling, sale and use of chemical weapons.

In so doing, Mr. Dole derailed a treaty negotiated by the Administrations of his Republican brethren Ronald Reagan and George Bush, and supported by Republicans and Democrats. Though Mr. Dole offered many policy objections, the real point was to pick a fight with President Clinton and deny him the afterglow of a diplomatic achievement.

As the Senate vote approached last week, Mr. Dole, who had not previously opposed the agreement, chimed in with a letter to the majority leader, Trent Lott, urging that approval be withheld until the accord had been accepted by virtually every other country in the world and there was assurance that even the smallest violations could be detected. Fearing they could no longer count on the 67 votes needed for approval, treaty sponsors pulled the measure, dooming it in this Congress. It can be brought back for a vote next year.

No treaty can absolutely prevent terrorists and other outlaws from smuggling small quantities of chemical weapons. But the Chemical Weapons Convention, already signed by 160 nations and ratified by 63, could make it much harder for countries like Iraq, or criminals like the group that unleashed lethal sarin gas in the Tokyo subways last year, to obtain toxic chemicals or their ingredients.

American military leaders, responsible politi-

cians of both parties and the American chemical industry all favor the treaty.

The convention, including its verification system and severe restrictions on chemical purchases from countries that have not ratified, is now likely to go into effect without the United States, potentially costing the American chemical industry billions of dollars in lost exports.

Mr. Dole complained that the convention imposed intrusive paperwork on American industry and risked the trade secrets of American chemical manufacturers. But the agreement's inspection and paperwork provisions were negotiated in close cooperation with the chemical industry.

The United States is already destroying most of its own chemical weapons arsenal, and current Pentagon doctrine excludes the use of these weapons even in response to a chemical attack.

Mr. Dole's new scorched-earth strategy in Congress was not limited to the chemical weapons treaty. To insure that the President cannot claim credit for enactment of an immigration bill this year, Mr. Dole is now pressing to give states the right to deny a public education to the children of illegal immigrants. He knows that provision would lead either to defeat of the bill in the Senate or to a Clinton veto.

At least this particular maneuver would do little harm since the immigration bill is filled with other unacceptable provisions. But imperiling the Chemical Weapons Convention is trifling with the national interest. It is a measure of his desperation that Mr. Dole would seek to stir his becalmed campaign by blocking such an important and beneficial treaty.

## New York's Upcoming Non-Elections

New Yorkers are generally unaware of how much power the state government has over their lives. Otherwise they would be angrier at how little say they have over who runs it.

Thanks to gerrymandered district lines — drawn by the State Legislature itself — almost all the state senators and Assembly members in November's elections are running in contests where their party has an overwhelming advantage. Even worse, the opposing parties show little appetite for a fight. As a result, some New Yorkers will find only one name on the ballot, leaving them with no more voting options than North Koreans have.

In New York City, Democrats constantly tell voters they are being shortchanged in the state budget because the Republican-dominated Senate favors the suburbs and upstate regions. Six of those Republican senators, however, are from the city itself, and only two have Democratic opponents this fall. In the Bronx, voters have a choice between State Senator Guy Velella the Republican candidate and Guy Velella the Democratic nominee. In Staten Island, Senator John Marchi, a Republican, is also on both lines. In Queens, of the three Republican incumbents, two are running unopposed.

Republican leaders in New York City have managed to find people to run against about 70 of the 77 incumbent Democratic state senators and Assembly members. But the Democrats, who need to challenge only nine incumbent Republicans, made no effort in four of those races. The Democrats are more interested in husbanding what they have. New York has developed a risk-averse breed of politicians who prefer protecting their entrenched interests to competing for real power.

The system starts at the top, where legislative gerrymandering all but guarantees that the Republicans will control the upper house and the Democrats the lower. Each party thus commands patronage and perpetual veto power over the other. Therefore, the voters will never be able to give any governor a clear mandate for change.

The citizenry is shortchanged further by local leaders who try to avoid any election in which their candidates actually stand a chance of losing. The Democratic chairman in the Bronx, Roberto Ramirez, said he had decided to cross-endorse Mr. Velella to encourage his support for legislation of interest to the Bronx. He also wanted to concentrate on protecting the one Bronx Assembly district where a Democratic incumbent actually faces a real contest. "Call it a pragmatic decision," he said.

Mr. Velella, a popular politician in a district that was drawn to maximize G.O.P. chances, would indeed be nearly impossible to beat. But by giving him both party lines the Democrats have absolved him from all accountability for his performance over the last two years. In community debates, in interviews with neighborhood newspapers, he will have to answer to no opponent.

Mr. Ramirez's thinking is typical of many city politicians, who regularly make nonaggression pacts with the other party to assure that both sides can coast back into office without opposition. The term for this is "mutual interests." The result is the worst of both worlds. The State Legislature exists in a permanent partisan deadlock, where there is little cooperation in solving serious issues. But at election time, both parties can join forces against their mutual enemy, the voter.

### Editorial Notebook

## Life in the Toxic Zone

Metaphors of death are plentiful in Chester, Pa., a declining factory town on the Delaware River just south of Philadelphia. Once a muscular city of 66,000, Chester lost a third of its population — and more than 40,000 jobs — between the end of World War II and the coming of Ronald Reagan. Elected Mayor, the town's leading mortician suggested turning out street lights — actually letting the city go dark — to save money. Many streets are desolate. Young prostitutes prowl the doorways of burnt-out buildings. In addition to these misfortunes, Chester has become the hazardous-waste capital of Pennsylvania — and a national battleground on the issue of environmental justice.

The city was already polluted from a long history of steel and heavy manufacturing. The desperate need for new jobs made the situation much worse. Chester began to accept waste facilities that rich neighbors like Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr wanted no part of. Its zoning laws were recently tightened. But during the last decade, Pennsylvania's Department of Environmental Protection issued permits for five waste-treatment plants in Chester, with the capacity to handle more than two million tons of waste per year. Elsewhere in Delaware County, only two permits were issued for small plants that could process less than 1 percent as much waste. According to the Environmental Protection Agency in Washington, Chester treats all of the county's solid waste and 85 percent of its sewage. The city accounts for 75 percent of the county's air pollution complaints.

Chester is mainly black. The rest of the county is overwhelmingly white. In 1995, a draft report from the E.P.A. found that Chester had the state's highest infant mortality rate and the highest death rate due to certain malignant tumors. Risks of kidney, liver and respiratory disease from pollution were unacceptably high. In addition, 60 percent of blood samples from Chester children exceeded lead levels recommend-

### Environmental Justice In Chester, Pa.

ed by the Centers for Disease Control. Faced with a hostile Congress determined to slash its budget, the E.P.A. lacked the heart to fight a Republican state government. But Chester residents went to court this spring, after the state issued a permit for yet another waste facility, to be placed in a mainly black part of the city that already had several. The suit argues that the new permit violates Title VI of the Civil Rights Act which forbids discriminatory behavior by any agency receiving Federal funds. Lawsuits charging environmental discrimination have become fairly common since the late 1980's, when some studies found that hazardous and toxic waste dumps were more likely to be placed in minority neighborhoods. Two years ago, White House executive order required every Federal agency to make environmental justice a high priority.

Michael Churchill, chief counsel of Philadelphia's Public Interest Law Center, said the Chester suit is the first in the nation to skip the customary administrative hearings route and jump directly to Federal court. The Justice Department filed a brief in support of the plaintiffs, suggesting that the state may indeed have violated both Title VI and Federal E.P.A. regulations. If successful, the suit could force the state to rescind the most recent permit. It would also be required to rewrite regulations to insure nondiscrimination, as a few states have already done.

The Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Protection says the permits are awarded on a racial-neutral basis and that any discriminatory effect stems from the city's own zoning plan. But the Justice Department is right when it says that the state also bears heavy legal responsibility. Whatever the local zoning and environmental laws say, the state has a moral obligation not to allow poor, desperate communities to turn themselves into toxic dumps. BRENT STAPLES

## U.S. Companies Can Live With Trade Sanctions

To the Editor: "Who's Punishing Whom?" (Business Day, Sept. 11) leaves a strong sense of some American companies' disapproval of the use of economic sanctions as a foreign policy tool. American companies are in business to make money, and sanctions stand in the way. At face value, this sentiment is understandable. Unfortunately, the world is not a simple place.

Capitalism, if left to function in its purest form, would end up financing terrorism and would keep dictators in power and the people of their countries without the most basic of human rights. American business must mature in its business ambitions. Yes, continue to embrace free and fair trade — but fair trade for all involved. Making money is the objective, but not at the expense of prostituting American values.

Multilateral sanctions against Cuba, Iran and Libya, for example, would help level the playing field for American companies. If the public relations people play their cards right, they can give American companies doing business abroad the human face they so often lack and make more reliable business partners. MARIA A. MARTIN North Bergen, N.J., Sept. 11, 1996

To the Editor: You report that the heyday of unilateral trade sanctions came "in the immediate postwar years, when the American economy was so mighty" (Business Day, Sept. 11).

True — but that was also a period when the world had just received a powerful object lesson in what happens when the good guys stick together and what happens when they don't. Today, the managers of Caterpillar Inc. and other putting exporters seem to be suffering from corporate amnesia. Rather than undermine United States sanctions against dangerous regimes abroad, they would do better to lend weight to Washington's efforts to make our unilateral sanctions multilateral, as they deserve to be. JOHN W. BUSH Brooklyn, Sept. 11, 1996

panies. While pandering to nationalistic instincts, such proclamations disguise the truth.

A public company's main ambition is to increase net worth. As American corporations have sent jobs overseas by the thousands and their respective stocks have risen, executives have almost without exception spoken not of retraining displaced employees but of the need to compete in the international marketplace.

Of course, this cheap labor reduces costs and propels shareholder value upward.

In truth, then, Mr. Fites should have stated simply that these unilateral trade sanctions just might inhibit raising next quarter's dividends. MARK A. HUNT Atlanta, Sept. 11, 1996

### Ethics in Public Life

To the Editor: There used to be a widespread belief that bribery was immoral, unethical and corrupt.

Your Sept. 5 front-page article on Bob Dole's legislative skill over the years in providing special tax breaks for corporations in exchange for millions of dollars of campaign contributions is the latest example of corruption throughout the legislative and executive branches of government.

The practice of soliciting contributions in exchange for favorable legislation or law enforcement is "legal" because Congress has enacted "rules" governing the prices, called "limits" on political contributions, that can be charged for these services. In fact, several members of Congress seem to be proud of their zeal in converting legislation favoring clients into dollars for themselves and their friends.

We would be outraged, say, if a Mafia boss tried to bribe a judge, but the skill of a Senator Dole in engineering a \$12 million-a-year tax credit for an Enron Corporation is celebrated.

In an earlier time these actions would have been denounced and voters would have turned the rascals out. Our political leaders in and out of office are unable to effect true reform because they are trapped in a corrupt and corrupting system. Perhaps a few courageous newspapers like The New York Times, can stir up sufficient public outrage to cause the enactment of binding legislation that will do the job.

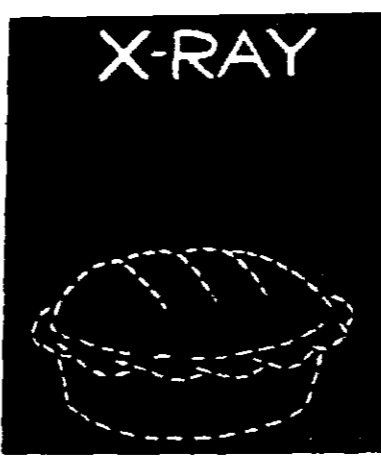
That should help re-establish public confidence in our political system and enable ethical people to enter public life. ERNEST STERN Concord, Mass., Sept. 6, 1996

## Jobs Gone, We'll Be a Nation of Cooks

To the Editor: With more people swapping computers and attaché cases for utensils and haute cuisine ("Out of the Rat Race and Into the Kitchen," Living Arts, Sept. 11), America is on the path to becoming a nation of cooks.

People dissatisfied with dull corporate and technological careers are turning to the kitchen for solace, creative fulfillment and work satisfaction. It will only be a matter of time before we begin to see physicians, who are becoming dissatisfied with managed care, moving from hospital to kitchen. This may well be a plus for the public, since not only is there a surplus of physicians, but in these days of food-borne infections, it will be reassuring to know that, yes, there is a doctor in the house.

There is another reason for this parade to the stove. An increasing number of highly trained technologists can no longer find employment in their expertise since higher-paying jobs have been moving overseas. These future chefs are looking to the kitchen for substitute employment since they realize that while it is possible for companies to move many of the software-related jobs to



countries like India, it would be difficult to transfer the preparing of a soufflé to Mexico.

I can visualize an America in which food preparation is the only remaining industry and we are all cooking for one another. LESTER E. BLOCK Minneapolis, Sept. 12, 1996

The writer is director of graduate studies in public health at the University of Minnesota.

## New Plaque at Statue Endorses No Religion

To the Editor: Your Sept. 7 news article on the Sri Chinmoy Peace-Blossom plaque at the Statue of Liberty is a disservice to the National Park Service and to me as the Superintendent of the monument.

By accepting this plaque, we were not endorsing a religion. The Sri Chinmoy organization has been promoting its message of peace through non-political means since 1986.

As indicated in your article, other sites dedicated with the Peace-Blossom plaque include Mount McKinley in Alaska, the Grand Coulee Dam in Washington, Victoria Falls in Africa and the Sydney Opera House in Australia. In addition, many states and cities here and parks in other nations have responded positively to this group's efforts to foster harmony.

I have worked for the National Park Service for 21 years and recognize the importance of keeping our parks pure for future generations. The Peace-Blossom plaque was not affixed to the statue itself but, as your article indicates, to a wall in the information and visitor area. It does not detract from the majesty or dignity of the structure or from its symbolic meaning.

Lady Liberty's message is peace and freedom for all people, and this is precisely the message that the Sri Chinmoy group has conveyed through more than 1,000 international projects. DIANE H. DAYSON Superintendent, Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island National Monument New York, Sept. 12, 1996

### Crossing the Bridge

To the Editor: While I agree with the point of your Sept. 8 Week in Review article that the bridge as a metaphor in the 1996 Presidential campaign already feels a bit tired ("Bridges for Both Parties: Requiem for a Metaphor Too Far"), it's too soon to dynamite it.

I'm still waiting for somebody to revive (or reinvent) Oscar Levant's comment about a politician he obviously disliked: "He'll double-cross that bridge when he comes to it." ANDIE TUCHER New York, Sept. 8, 1996

## What Builds Welfare As Japan Knows It

To the Editor: Before your Sept. 10 front-page overview of the Japanese welfare system is used to support the new Federal welfare legislation in this country with its reduced benefits, let us keep in mind the differences between our two societies.

Aside from those your article mentions is the most important difference: Japan does not have the wide disparity of the United States in the wealth and quality of its school systems. All Japanese children receive a solid education.

Japanese officials who study at Pace University never cease to wonder at why neighboring school districts in Westchester County are so dissimilar in student per capita expenditures and teacher salaries, physical facilities and other resources.

The Japanese system is not based on local property wealth. Maybe if we emulated Japan's effort at equity, the need for welfare would be diminished. ANTHONY A. CUPAIUOLO White Plains, Sept. 10, 1996

The writer is director of the Edwin G. Michaelian Institute for Public Policy and Management, Pace U.

## Environment Bond Issue Is More Than Politics

To the Editor: Your Sept. 9 Political Memo on the \$1.75 billion New York bond act to improve the environment presents the issue as a political game instead of focusing on the proposal itself.

The purpose and content of the Clean Water-Clean Air Bond Act are more important: \$200 million to clean up Long Island Sound, \$400 million to insure safe drinking water, \$75 million to close the Fresh Kills landfill in Staten Island, \$125 million to convert coal furnaces in public schools, as well as cleanup and improvement of Lake Champlain, the Hudson River estuary, the Great Lakes and the Finger Lakes.

Contrary to Assemblyman Richard L. Brodsky, whom you quote, Gov. George E. Pataki doesn't need to co-opt environmentalists; he has long had excellent ratings from conservation and environmental groups. If the bond act was a partisan act, it would not have been supported by both Democrats and Republicans in the

Legislature or endorsed by the leading environmental and business organization in the state.

The environment is not the property of any one political party or section of the state. I totally disagree with the premise stated in your article that only downstate liberals support environmental issues and that upstate conservatives don't care enough to vote.

Turning the bond act into a partisan issue does a disservice to New Yorkers. CARL L. MARCELLINO Chairman, Senate Environmental Conservation Committee Albany, Sept. 11, 1996

## Test-Ban Monitoring Need Not Wait for India

To the Editor: Your Sept. 10 editorial advocating approval of the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty regrets that its international monitoring and inspection system cannot begin operating until India ratifies it, an event that will take years, if not decades.

Nearly all other countries, including all five of the declared nuclear weapon states, will sign the treaty. After signing, they should draft and sign an agreement that is not dependent on India's approval but puts into place, for the interim, most of the verification provisions of the treaty.

Through this separate agreement, seismic stations in remote areas could share data, and on-site inspections could help assure that rumblings being detected were small earthquakes, not nuclear tests. The side agreement would help to instill confidence that no nations, including Russia and China, were clandestinely testing atomic weapons.

It could also help to persuade the United States Senate to ratify the treaty, even while waiting for Indian adherence. DAVID A. KOPLOW PHILIP C. SCHIRAG Washington, Sept. 10, 1996

The writers were legal advisers to the United States delegation to the test-ban negotiations during the Carter Administration.

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Foreign Affairs  
It's a Love-Ha Thing

سكندا من الاصل



Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

It's a Love-Hate Thing

TEHRAN, Iran At the corner of the former U.S. embassy in Teheran now sits a small shop called "The Center for Publication of the U.S. Espionage Den's Documents" — a bookstore of sorts, selling dusty paperbacks containing the secret documents found when the embassy was stormed by Iranian students in the revolutionary days of 1979.

Is it inevitable that things will remain frozen this way? Not necessarily. There is no question that the domestic needs of Iran's Islamic leadership dictate a hostile relationship with America. There is a visceral fear among Iran's mullahs of the cultural invasion that a normal relationship with the U.S. would bring, and a deep concern that if they open the door to America the whole structure of the revolutionary regime could be shaken.

But there is something else that is common to revolutionary societies: Once the revolution consolidates itself, and the revolutionary zeal cools, the traditional national interests of that country reassert themselves, and those interests are dictated not by ideology but by history and geography.

Why Iran might need the U.S.

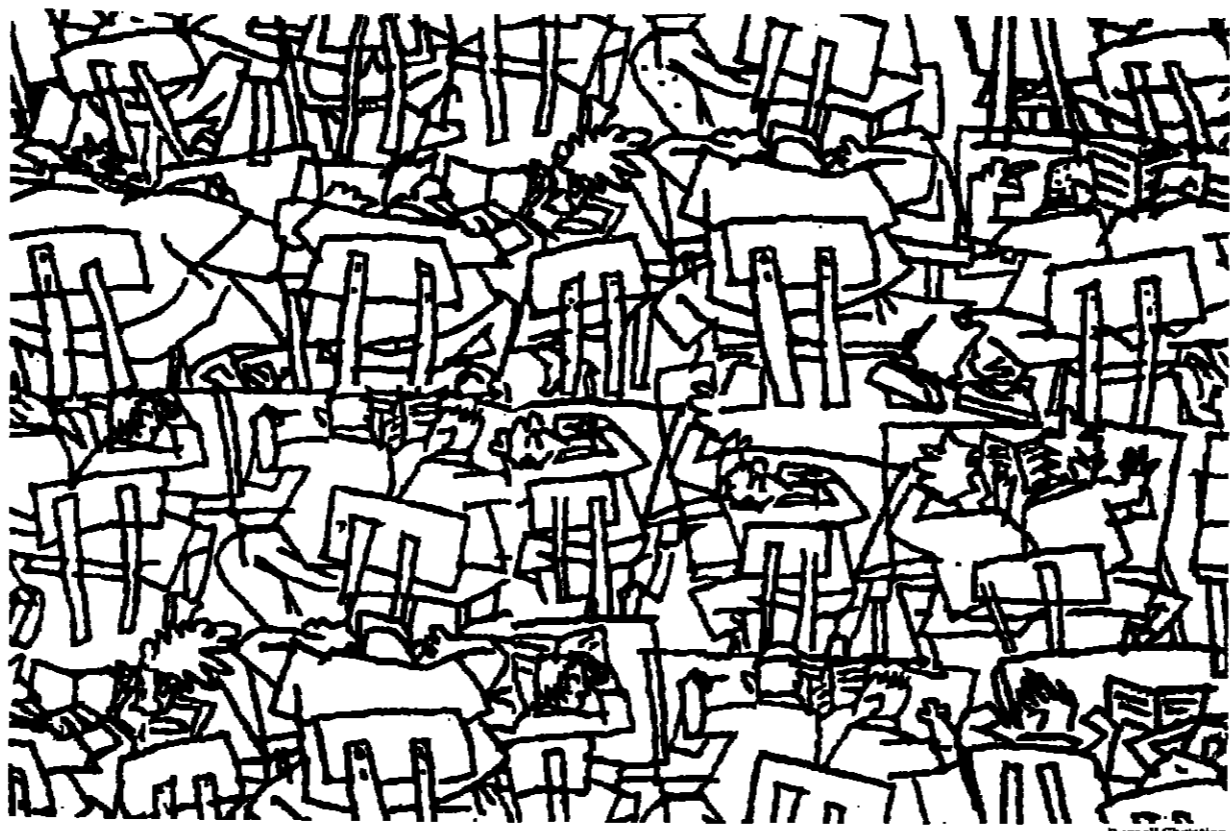
crisis only underscores that point.

Here's why: Iran is a country surrounded either by powerful enemies with whom it has fought wars — Russia, Iraq, Ottoman Turkey — or by new states that covet some of Iran's people. Remember: Iran is an empire. Within its boundaries are Turkish, Kurdish, Afghan, Azeri, Baluchi, Arab and Armenian minorities — most of whom have cousins living just across Iran's borders in their own nation states.

Unbeknownst to most Americans, the U.S. did Iran a huge strategic favor in 1981. At the end of the gulf war, Saddam Hussein turned his vengeance against the Kurds of northern Iraq, driving several hundred thousand into Iran. This created a huge refugee problem for cash-strapped Iran. But shortly thereafter the U.S. set up a no-fly zone over northern Iraq, and Operation Provide Comfort, to protect the Kurds there.

Maybe that was why I found virtually no personal animus toward the U.S. from any Iranian official I spoke with. I did, however, encounter virulent, straight-from-the-gut, burning animus toward Israel and Zionism, which runs right through Iran's leadership. Interestingly, Israel's Ha'aretz newspaper just reported that senior Israeli security officials had warned Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu not to follow Prime Minister Rabin's and Prime Minister Peres's line of constantly lashing out at Iran, because "the Iranians had come to see Israel as their main enemy — even more than the U.S.," which is "not desirable from Israel's perspective."

As the U.S. becomes more deeply embroiled in the gulf, it will be fascinating to see which of Iran's impulses drive its relations with America and Israel — its domestic needs for hostility or its foreign policy needs for cooperation. Who knows what this year's October surprise might be?



Robert Christian

The Schools Need \$7 Billion

By Harold O. Levy

When I was appointed chairman of a commission on school maintenance in March 1994, I had not been inside a New York City public school since I graduated from the Bronx High School of Science in 1970.

Over the past two years, however, I have visited dozens of schools in every borough. Our commission, in its 1995 report, documented the deterioration of New York City schools, and led me to conclude that the crowding and dilapidation is so severe that nothing other than a large infusion of capital — paid for with an increase in local property taxes, plus additional state and Federal aid — will save the system.

The situation is potentially dangerous. The elementary school I attended, P.S. 189 in Washington Heights, has a wall that is now braced in place. That's because three years ago, it suddenly began to lean precariously into my old fifth-grade classroom, threatening to fall in on the students.

In schools in middle-class neighborhoods of Queens, broken windows were held together by Scotch tape. In one school, a windowpane teetered on a fifth-story ledge, just waiting to drop onto the schoolyard below. That no student has yet been injured or killed is solely a tribute to providence. Only significant capital — at least \$7 billion over 5 to 10 years — will repair these schools and make room for the 20,000 new students expected every year. Amounts such as this can only be raised if city, state and national governments work together.

So far, attempts at raising this money have been futile. Peter Vallone, Speaker of the City Council, made a good start in February, when he suggested extending a temporary property tax surcharge, originally imposed to support the Safe Streets, Safe Cities program. Yet, Mr. Vallone's proposal would have raised only \$1.4 billion over three years, not nearly enough money.

Even that modest initiative didn't succeed; Mayor Rudolph Giuliani used the money to help balance the city's budget. Although the Mayor and the Council did agree to come up with the \$1.4 billion over four and a half years by other means, the money is not guaranteed, particularly since the city is facing an enormous budget gap.

What is needed is a combination of a \$4 billion increase on city property taxes (mainly on single-family homes), a \$3.5 billion state bond issue and \$500 million in Federal aid.

Given the city's large property-tax base, modest increases generate large sums. A mere 5 percent surcharge would realize an average of \$400 million annually. If you could

Why a property tax increase is a good investment.

borrow against that sum, it would generate \$4 billion. For the average homeowner that would mean a tax increase of as little as \$75 a year. The taxes on the largest commercial buildings would be increased by an even smaller percentage.

This proposal requires that city leaders make a potentially unpopular decision. Property owners obviously hate tax increases, but an increase dedicated to improving public schools could also improve property values. A house is much more valuable if parents can confidently send their children to the area's public schools.

I also believe that New York City is ready to make sacrifices for the schools. The construction unions have offered to work at reduced rates, and the New York City Partnership, the city's most important business coalition, has supported the Vallone proposal, as has the Real Estate Board, which represents the city's major property owners.

If the city does its part, it has every right to demand a similar effort from the state. The Legislature should approve a \$3.5 billion bond issue and amend the reimbursement formula so that New York City gets its fair share of annual school construction money. Moreover, the state

Forest on the Verge

By David Brower

BERKELEY, Calif. The great redwood forests that once covered two million acres in Northern California are nearly gone. Most of what remains is protected in Redwood National Park and a few isolated state parks.

Near Eureka, however, there is the Headwaters Grove, which contains magnificent redwoods dating back two millennia. The 3,000-acre grove and the forest around it are the last redwoods remaining in private hands.

How can we let the redwoods fall?

But unless the Government can reach a deal with the owner, Charles Hurwitz, a Texas corporate raider, his company will soon begin "salvage" logging the old-growth areas.

Soon after Mr. Hurwitz bought the Pacific Lumber Company and its 189,000 acres, including Headwaters Grove, in 1985, he doubled the rate of logging in the area. Only legal challenges by environmentalists have kept him out of the grove and five

David Brower is former executive director of the Sierra Club.

other old-growth stands that are the nesting sites of a protected seabird, the marbled murrelet. Restrictions on logging during the birds' nesting season were to be lifted on Monday, but Pacific Lumber agreed on Friday to a two-week extension.

The Clinton Administration intends to trade Federal lands elsewhere for the Headwaters Grove and a small buffer area around it. This is an admirable effort, but saving an isolated stand of trees is a futile act. To protect the grove and its endangered species, the entire ecosystem — about 60,000 acres — must be preserved.

It is also unfortunate that the Government is prepared to hand over Federal property to Mr. Hurwitz in exchange for his land. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Office of Thrift Supervision are seeking hundreds of millions of dollars in damages from his holding company, Maxxam Inc., in two cases involving a failed Texas savings and loan that cost taxpayers \$1.6 billion.

Mr. Hurwitz has long balked at the prospect of turning the land over to the Government in exchange for absolving him of personal liabilities. Yet his representatives met this week with banking agency officials in Washington. Even if the Government trades land for the ancient grove, it should continue to press him to give up the rest of the necessary land around the grove in exchange for his debt.

Headwaters is a national treasure and one of our last connections to a primeval past. If President Clinton saves it, he will have the backing of the American people and the gratitude of generations to come.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Pink Think

WASHINGTON I thought feminizing would be civilizing.

With the feminization of politics, we could drop the clichés about war rooms, haymakers and getting under the hood of Ross Perot's stupid car, and find fresh similes. Ross Perot's mouth snapped shut like a purse. We could stop having macho pho-

Crocheting their way to the White House.

tc-ops at gas chambers, tank factories, gun shows, stockcar races and bass fishing tournaments, and go someplace fun. Trying to soften his image, Bob Dole campaigned today at Bergdorf's Semi-Annual Sale and spent several hours accessorizing.

We could quit swaggering about whipping third-rate dictators and start figuring out how to get cheaper day care and more classrooms.

But I was wrong. Both parties think suburban women will be the key, so they try to latch on to the nurturing aura of Family Circle, Ricki Lake and Rosie O'Donnell.

Bob Dole's new ad is full of women, one holding a baby, gazing up at him adoringly, something I have yet to see at a Dole rally. Bill Clinton, never one to shy from the ghoulish, uses pictures of a little girl named Melissa who died of an unnamed disease, and interviews with her parents, to bludgeon Bob Dole about his inane denunciation of the popular Family and Medical Leave Act as government intrusion.

Watching the Presidential candidates trip over themselves to woo Soccer Moms, watching these men weep, emote and confide at the drop of a hankie, I can't call it progress.

I'm afraid of what the fall will bring. Will Bob Dole get the vapors and collapse on a fainting couch? Will Jack Kemp grace the cover of Crochet Magazine in a little number he stitched in his spare time on the bus?

The feminization of politics has resulted in a nauseating display of senseless sensibility. If women wanted revenge for decades of being ignored while their men talked sports and politics, they got it.

Since Geraldine Ferraro was put on the ticket in 1984, many elections have been christened the Year of the Woman. This year, women have more clout than ever, but it is not measured by how female candidates are doing, or how close women came to getting on a national ticket.

This year, women will get credit for a breathtaking achievement: Taking sports out of the Olympics and politics out of the conventions.

The men in charge of Olympic and convention coverage bled their spectacles of nasty old competition to lure female viewers. We were spoon-fed treacly, heart-tugging soap operas. Or, as the mother of all pundits, Jack Germond, puts it, "Goop."

The guys must have read that women prefer consensus to conflict. But sports and politics are about winning and losing, not getting along. As John Podhoretz wrote in The Weekly Standard, "the very things boys love about politics and sports" were replaced by "a giant smiley face."

With their parade of first-person tales of rape, AIDS, cancer, abortion, disability and death, the conventions were reminiscent of the depressing Sunday-night movies-of-the-week aimed at women, the ones about women being stalked and raped and harassed and dragged into custody fights and ugly romantic triangles. The glorification of victimization.

It made me cringe for my gender, to see how men define our taste.

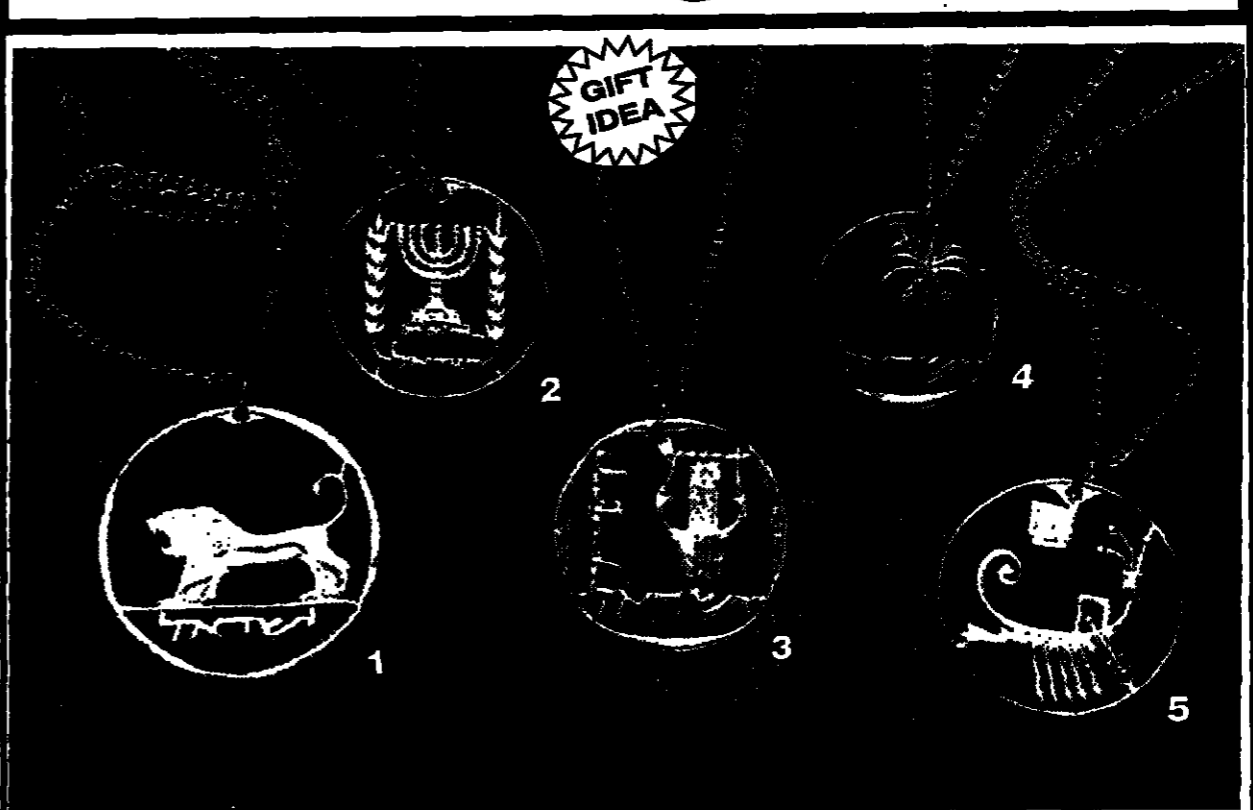
The vision seemed as narrow and sentimental as the way Victorian women were corseted, put on a goody-goody pedestal as homemakers, sources of compassion and moral forces in the world.

"Men very often think women are children," Pat Schroeder says. "They really think we have no intellect. They think that we can't comprehend anything except little human-interest stories. Please, I want to see the game. I want to hear political speeches. I don't want to see little stories. Men say it's feminizing, but it's really downgrading, more dumbing down."

Mr. Germond notes that "it is sort of ironic that a guy like Clinton, with his history," is enjoying such strong support from women. But then, Mr. Clinton has always been good at the politics of seduction.

The campaign is bathed in a flattering pink light now. Let's just hope that when the men start governing, they have more to offer than sweet nothings.

Historical Creations



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FILM/TELEVISION

How The West Was Lost (As a Staple Of Television)

By CARYN JAMES

VERY near the end of "The West," an epic documentary about how the American frontier was settled...

Here, in film shot in 1908, are the same images baby boomers grew up watching in fictional form, in movies and on television, half a century later.

Today, of course, the television western is as dead as if it had been gunned down on the streets of Dodge.

The myth itself is not dead; it is constantly being reinvented in movies. In the 1990's, there have been redemptive westerns like "Dances With Wolves."

What killed the television western? "The West," a 12 1/2-hour, 8-part series that begins this week on the Public Broadcasting System this week.

Directed by Stephen Ives and produced by Ken Burns, "The West" uses a style made familiar in Mr. Burns's "Civil War" series: history built around personal narratives,

rich with archival photographs and letters. In entralling detail it explores the day-to-day reality of disappointed gold rushers, stubborn cattle drivers and displaced American Indians.

In the popular imagination, the West used to be a wilderness of endless possibility and freedom, conquered by brave white men. In the last few decades, it has become a lost Eden where cowardly white men slaughtered the Indians and stole their land.

The death of the traditional television western is a complicated historical matter, too. There are practical causes: television advertisers' desire to reach a specific audience (younger viewers, the ones least likely to go for an aging genre like the western).

It was during a more oblivious, less questioning period in American history that the imagery flourished on television. Within a two-week period in 1955, "Gunsmoke," "Cheyenne" and "The Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp" had their premieres.

At the start — when Gene Autry and Roy Rogers were being transformed from movie cowboys to kid-television stars — there was such a strong link between western films

and television that John Wayne was asked to play Matt Dillon in "Gunsmoke." It was Wayne who suggested James Arness for the role, and Wayne who appeared on screen to introduce the series, bringing a western hero's seal of approval to television.

The appeal of those early shows was the same as that of western films: adventure, in which the good guys beat the bad. In the "Gunsmoke" premiere, Marshal Dillon faces a gunslinger who is wanted for killing an unarmed man.

As series developed, television westerns took their own shape. It was easy for a movie hero, riding off into the sunset after an hour or so, to be a tough loner.

On cable, we can still see how those family-oriented westerns worked. The FX channel shows "Rawhide" twice a day, giving everyone a chance to see where Clint Eastwood learned to be a heartthrob cowboy.

Yet a glance at who is watching these cable rereads hints at why there are few current westerns, why the genre itself seems creaky on television.



"The Quick and the Dead," with Sharon Stone

day, it was enough to have a large audience. In the 60's, demographic research began telling the networks, and the advertisers that support them, about the makeup of that audience.

Much of that nostalgia is focused on a time when the country shared an unquestioned morality. The laws in the Old West may have been different, but the community's clear-cut ideals reflected the situation in contemporary America.

In an episode of "The Big Valley" shown on the Family Channel recently, Barbara Stanwyck's sons help a rancher defend land the railroad wants to take.

The days of that ethic were numbered, though. On an episode of "Wagon Train," John McIntire, as the wagon master, gives a little lecture to Jane Wyman.

That episode was from 1962, the year "Wagon Train" changed networks and topped from No. 1 in the ratings to 25.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, demographic research was beginning its reign of terror: if social changes hadn't killed the western, demographics surely would have.

There have been aberrations since then. The big-budget 1989 mini-series "Lonesome Dove" was a smash, partly because it was a perfect blend of old-movie-style action and sensitive heroes.

The smartest western idea to come along lately is TNT's "Lazarus Man," which grafts hot 90's themes like government conspiracies and lost identity to traditional shoot-'em-up action.

Such dark themes are rare in western ethic.

ries, though they have flourished in movies. Even in film, revisionist westerns are nothing new. John Ford's "Man Who Shot Liberty Valence" (1962), Arthur Penn's "Little Big Man" (1970) and Robert Altman's "Buffalo Bill and the Indians" (1976) are all filled with a sense of how myth making overwhelmed history.

In "Unforgiven" (1992), Mr. Eastwood's William Munny is a reformed killer with a serious case of backsliding. When the evil sheriff (Gene Hackman) kicks Munny brutally, the heroine, a prostitute called Strawberry Alice (Frances Fisher), yells that he has beat "an innocent man."

"Innocent of what?" asks the sheriff, suggesting how far moral assumptions have shifted. In "Unforgiven," people are guilty until proven innocent of something.

Sharon Stone is a gunfighter in Sam Raimi's "The Quick and the Dead," a film in which people stand in the street and shoot each other in a contest for money.

Within the last three years, "The Quick and the Dead" and "Wyatt Earp," with Kevin Costner, were big-name flops. "Bad Girls" failed, but "The Ballad of Little Jo" gave a smart feminist twist to the Old West.

That impulse accounts for "Dr. Quinn," the heir to Michael Landon's "Little House on the Prairie." After "Bonanza," Little Joe came up with a family frontier story with more promising, feminine demographics than those for shoot-'em-up westerns.

SO BIG

BY ALEX K. JUSTIN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

- ACROSS 1 Teleflora rival 4 It's semi-attached 7 That being the case 12 Eastern music 16 Willingly 18 Dummy 19 Remote 20 Groupies follow them 22 OPENLY 25 Express disapproval of 26 Kind of grandparent 27 First name in rock 28 Sauté 29 Informs positively 30 Start of the Sons of the Covenant's name 31 Rice dish with meat 32 Insult, modern-style 33 They come before yodhs 34 Panama Canal, in slang 37 Ewer's adjunct 40 Exert one's influence 42 "Some — meat and carna ent": Burns 43 "You Are My Destiny" singer 44 Prefix with dollar 45 "Looking for —" (Gershwin hit) 46 Actress Carter 47 BARELY 48 Exemplary 49 Suffer humiliation 53 Heckelphones 55 Japanese naval base north of Nagasaki 56 St. — fire 57 Falsify, in a way 58 Words on a Wonderland cake 59 More lenient 61 Northerly region of myth 63 Where Empress Zauditu ruled 66 Mailboxes 67 SILENT FILM CAPTION 69 They're worth bonuses, in cards 70 Unwanted look 71 Subject of Ishmael's narration 72 — the kill 73 Certain therapy 74 Smooth talkers, perhaps 75 Ellerbee's — It Goes 79 Go over the lines 81 "... my dainty — I shall miss thee": Prospero 82 Ahead: Abbr. 83 — time (eventually) 84 Arles articles 85 "Bad air," literally 89 Housekeeping 91 Oscar winner of 1961 93 Press agents? 94 — a dozen 95 STEERS CLEAR OF 97 Worrying sort 98 Whiteball 99 Baseball's Ashby 100 Point of — (British lighthouse site) 101 "Alice" diner 102 Body of art? 103 Detail of pointillism 104 Urgan message 18 Vitus Bering and others 21 Farm home 23 Sen. Hatch 24 Movie based on an Isaac Bashevis Singer story 28 Kind of back or bank 30 At the base of 31 Attribute to 33 "Presumed Innocent" author and others 34 Netanyahu and others 35 Godwin's "The Adventures of — Williams" 36 Aloha 37 Unsophisticate 38 "The Cherry Orchard" girl 39 DEFIES DANGER 40 Cigars 41 Latest thing 44 Screwup 46 Certain designated section 48 Apices 49 Finish, finally 50 Have — (revel) 51 Copland ballet 52 Suffix in camera names 55 Indian master 58 Actor Hawke of "Alive" 59 Trimmer 60 Stand 61 Faulkner's " — Thirteen" 62 Daughter of Cronus 63 One of the Barrymores 64 Poet Coolbrith et al. 65 Aprosopos 67 Pointed 68 Breaks, in a way 70 Lash, the cowboy 74 Free loaders 75 Acclaim 76 Auto maker Maserati 77 Tuscany province 78 Wing it 80 Canine cover 82 Fraught 85 No longer speaking to 86 Calhoun and others 87 Speaker's need 88 Remains to be seen? 89 Driver's aid 90 What's wrapped up in the whole ball of wax? 91 From night rental 92 Fini 93 Storehouse 95 Astron. clock setting 96 Pile

A crossword puzzle grid with numbered squares for letters to be filled in.

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

A grid of words corresponding to the answers of the previous puzzle, including words like SHIP, HOME, DRAW, GENT, etc.

MUSIC

Orchestras Play to Win

By BERNARD HOLLAND

THE New York Philharmonic opens its season on Wednesday with a winning program. And make no mistake, concert programs are designed to win.

Wednesday evening's music bears several messages. First is the ritual exercise in renewal, and with it a sense of celebration. There will be glamour in equisopie: first from partygoing subscribers in the audience at Avery Fisher Hall, then more glamour from Anne-Sophie Mutter playing the Brahms Violin Concerto up on stage.

Kurt Masur will introduce his orchestra to a new season (though given its recent labors at the Lincoln Center Festival '96, one is hard pressed to distinguish one season from its predecessor). Brahms sets the tone for the no-nonsense spirit of Mr. Masur's regime in New York.

Go back to the Philharmonic on Thursday, and be led by the la carte approach to program building: something old (Mozart's C minor Piano Concerto), something new (the United States premiere of Georg Katzer's "Soundhouse") and something in the middle (again the Tchaikovsky Fourth). One concert, three centuries: all bases covered.

But look a little deeper as well. Note first that Mr. Katzer's piece begins the evening. This is the strategy of benign entrapment. If you as a manager are pretty sure that conservative listeners will recoil from the unfamiliar name and the threat of "modern music," bait them with the lure of Romantic effulgence an hour ahead.

Concert strategists may go to great lengths, or none at all.

Katzer's piece, I am told, takes about 23 minutes. A lot of program-opener are deliberately shorter. Brevity insures that stragglers are not left uncomfortably long to cool their heels outside the doors; no music is disrupted by the tardy. Admittance after the first movement of a symphony is another, if less satisfactory, solution.

The first-movement maneuver does offer catharsis. Conductors enjoy the soul-searing opportunity to menace the latecomer sinful enough to miss a moment of their greatness. For those already seated, there are the uplifting effects of righteous indignation.

On Thursday, Mr. Feltman will be icing on the cake. Visiting orchestras of middling reputation, on the other hand, regularly depend on the box-office lure of big-name virtuosos like him. They help sell the event, even when it means inserting Grieg or Mendelssohn in the middle of some otherwise coherent stylistic or nationalistic statement.

Wait yet a week more, and you will experience the child-prodigy effect. Managers who dreaded Midori's climb into adulthood now rest easy with the new crop of barely pubes-

cent virtuosos. Here the Philharmonic presents the 13-year-old pianist Helen Huang, who is expected to make child's play of the Mendelssohn G minor Concerto. Other grown-up musicians in children's bodies include the astonishing Sarah Chang and the impressive Hilary Hahn, both violinists. They sell tickets.

Some programmers reject the à la carte format and lump contemporary music into entire evenings. Call them ghettos, but these concerts often serve valuably. The week of contemporary music at the Tanglewood Festival a month ago, for example, made true virtue of isolation. With not a Straussian six-four chord in sight for days on end, new music seemed defended from the past and allowed to breathe its own air. Nothing could have pointed up more vividly the moat that, for better or worse, separates a devouring past from the more fragile, often orphaned, multiplicities of the present.

Program builders are also turning to one-event/one-idea affairs. In which a pervasive theme is led through various other media, acquiring on the way that currently exalted state known as "context." Christopher Hunt's Pepsico Summerfare at Purchase, N.Y., a number of years ago alerted us to the possibilities of weekend-long immersions, and this bandwagon has taken on many passengers since.

Bard College devotes two summer weekends to a single composer; this year, Ives. The Schubertade at the 92d Street Y, given to a 10-year survey of Schubert's music, lost steam halfway through but is limping still toward some sort of closure. The Brooklyn Philharmonic's theme weekends, often a little rough in concept and execution, try to brighten a less than brilliant orchestra with topics like Eastern European mysticism or American jazz.

Newton tells us that every action elicits an equal and opposite reaction, and maybe this is why I come across more and more concert programs that seem willfully incoherent — like I Ching exercises set in the middle of a program book. License-plate owners do the same. The aspiring cool proudly custom-order their messages. The truly cool are pleased with whatever numbers come their way.

Handwritten Arabic text at the bottom left of the page.



# A book, a play, an opera: Kafka's 'Metamorphosis'

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

**O**PERA is the most central thing in my world, everything else I do comes from opera," says composer Ron Weidberg, whose new opera *Metamorphosis* will be premiered at the Acre Festival at the end of the month.

"The question is not why do I compose opera, but why do I compose opera in Israel where the situation is almost impossible," Weidberg says, referring to the lack of performance opportunities here.

"When composer Gyorgy Ligeti received the Wolf Prize a few months ago he was asked by the president: 'What is a Jew who survived the Holocaust doing in Germany?' Ligeti answered very simply that had he been living in Israel, he wouldn't have become the composer he is. It was a tough answer but there was more than a grain of truth in it. After all, here in Israel there is just one opera house. Compare this to any European country and you at once

realize why the performance possibilities here are virtually nonexistent," says Weidberg.

He explains that "for many years I didn't write a real opera, only semi-operatic works. And then came this suggestion from Musica Nova to do a chamber opera and I decided the time has indeed come to do a new piece."

The choice for a source was Kafka's short story *Metamorphosis*. "At this point there is no real point in doing a huge opera, so I decided on a chamber one. But this is just the beginning - after *Metamorphosis* will come *The Castle*," another Kafka opus.

Why Kafka?

"First of all he is one of us," says Weidberg. "But much more importantly, Kafka is one of the most relevant existential creators of our time and compared to Beckett, for example, he is more humane and warmer. I couldn't have written an opera about a topic which is not relevant to our daily existence."

"I rewrote the text for the librett-

to even though you can see that Kafka was a first-rate dramatist. His eye doesn't miss any detail and he has a first-rate overall theatrical vision. Kafka didn't write a short story but a three-dimensional opus which is exactly why the adaptation was easy and very pleasant."

According to Weidberg, "Kafka uses the language of human beings. He uses very precise sentences, very specific choice of words, and in more ways than one his language is similar to today's Hebrew, which is also a very precise language which gets better and better with the years. And don't forget that because he died 70 years ago there is no problem of royalties, which is also very important within the overall budget."

WEIDBERG adamantly believes that opera is an art form for the community at large. "The new opera house at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center is a great place, but opera should not be limited to it. Opera should be present-



Composer Ron Weidberg wants opera to be 'relevant to our society.'

gather. I believe that at the end of the 20th century, opera should take place wherever people are performing music," he says.

He is quite critical of the so-called grand operas written in this day and age.

"Opera in its 19th-century form passed. And for many years I haven't seen a 20th-century opera in which two people are talking to each other. In today's opera world, there is always a tension between the librettist and director on the one hand, who want to have a play with music, and the conductors and singers who want songs with spectacle. In fact this is the entire history of the opera world since its beginning."

"When the music is not melodic and not singable nothing remains," he says.

"Today's composers are searching for an anchor in the show in the sets and have totally forgotten to try and reach a real artistic truth. I want to see today's opera being relevant to our society. Look, we are now sitting around a table talking. Let's compose this, this is

what makes a real theater, and not a mere spectacle as grand as it might be."

Weidberg does not write traditional opera. "I do not negate the operatic voice and I do believe that any opera singer today can sing perfect Hebrew. But I looked for actors who can sing, actors who are very musical in this case."

So his cast features the likes of Sassi Keshet, Eli Gornstein, Yuval Zamir and Robin Weisel-Capsuto, to name a few.

Yet although *Metamorphosis* is a chamber opera, its composer at once emphasizes that "chamber opera is not grand opera on a smaller scale. It is a very different kind of work which is much more authentic, a much more existential drama than what opera lovers are used to."

Before the premiere of *Metamorphosis*, Weidberg will enjoy a very rare opportunity to hear some of his other works performed as the Ra'anana Symphonette Orchestra opens its season with a concert devoted entirely to his works, an honor

very few Israeli composers have enjoyed through the years.

Under the baton of its new music director Yuval Zaliouk the Symphonette performs Weidberg's *Rhapsody*, his piano concerto (played by Revital Hachamoff) and his violin concerto (with Nital Zori as the orchestra's concertmaster) on Saturday in Ra'anana. As an added bonus, one of the composer's chamber works will also be performed.

Any living composer around the world today would probably envy Weidberg, who within less than 10 days will hear three of his symphonic works in the concert hall and immediately after that enjoy a premiere of a new opera, perhaps also indicating a metamorphosis in the composer's own career.

*Metamorphosis will premiere at the Acre Festival on September 28 with three more performances on the consecutive following days. After that it will continue to be presented in other locations in Israel under the auspices of Musica Nova.*

## Sweet Chestnut: A starry benefit

IN TUNE DAVID BRINN

Sweet Relief II, The Songs of Vic Chestnut VARIOUS ARTISTS (NMC)

**T**HIS disc displays how concept and implementation mesh perfectly, and in the process exposes the basic hippie ethics of alternative rock.

Sweet Relief is an organization formed when acclaimed singer/songwriter Victoria Williams developed multiple sclerosis a few years ago.

Like hundreds, or even thousands, of musicians, Williams had been unable to afford the medical insurance premiums which are inflated due to the allegedly high-risk lifestyle of rockers.

Thus a few of her friends, including Pearl Jam and Soul Asylum, contributed their versions of Williams's songs to a star-studded benefit disk which defrayed the medical costs.

Williams's disease is now under control, but the idea behind Sweet Relief of musicians helping musicians was so popular that a fund was established for artists who are in need of financial help to cover medical bills.

Sweet Relief II is devoted to the



Smashing Pumpkins has overcome the loss of two of its members to drugs.

songs of Vic Chestnut, one of those songwriter's songwriters, who is virtually unheard of in commercial circles.

Confined to a wheelchair due to a stroke, Chestnut's songs are, well, chestnuts. Or gems. Or maybe the best songs I've heard all year.

As Nanci Griffith, who collaborates with Hootie and the Blowfish for a heart-wrenching "Gravity of the Situation," comments in the liner notes, "Vic's music seems so much an open conversation, that though I've never met him, his words and music have become dear friends of mine."

The power of these mostly downbeat, stark songs becomes evident in that despite a diverse array of talent doing the interpretations, all the songs sound like they belong together, and not, as in the case of some tributes, a disjointed mess.

Sure, the returning Soul Asylum and R.E.M. are easily identifiable on their versions of "When I Ran off and Left Her" and "Sponge," respectively, but Chestnut's distinctive talents push through anyway.

Among the other highlights are plaintive versions by Indigo Girls of "Free of Hope" and a duet by rootsy folkster Joe Henry and his sister-in-law Madonna and his sister-in-law Madonna and his sister-in-law Madonna by Association" that is among the most sublime recordings the goddess of pop has ever made.

The liner notes are also a joy, in which each artist writes about Chestnut from a fan's viewpoint. It's a kick to be reminded that rock stars are first and foremost music lovers.

Sad, uplifting, funny and full of insight into the human condition, Sweet Relief II is an early contender for record of the year. How sweet it is.

**Zero SMASHING PUMPKINS (Helicon)**

Judging by its dominance at this month's MTV Video Awards (which have long surpassed the Grammys as the gauge of what is popular), Smashing Pumpkins is the band of the moment.

Despite or because of a recent scandalous past - in which keyboardist Jonathan Melvoin died of a drug overdose and drummer Jimmy Chamberlain was fired from the band for his own drug problems - the band is more popular than ever.

To capitalize on that popularity, the band has released its latest single, "Zero," from their latest disc, *Mellon Collie and the Infinite Sadness* and has added a few outtakes and a couple of new tunes, including a tribute to Melvoin, to make a mini-album.

The band is impossible to categorize, containing elements of heavy metal, punk, '70s-style arena rock and pop. Crunching guitar riffs from leader Billy Corgan abound, as do his miserable-geek lyrics.

Fans of the band will have to own this, but those uninitiated would do better to start somewhere else in the band's oeuvre.

The closing track, "Pastiche Medley," is totally unbearable. True to its name, it's a patchwork of parts of over 50 songs. A smatch of one song is quickly replaced by another of totally different tempo and temperament. Shock therapy is probably more fun.

**YOU OUGHT TO KNOW**

Alanis Morissette's stunning debut *Jagged Little Pill* has tied Whitney Houston for having the best-selling album ever by a female solo artist, the Recording Industry Association of America announced last week.

*Jagged Little Pill* was certified at 12 million copies sold in the United States, tying Houston's debut *Whitney Houston* and outdoing industry veterans like Carole King, Madonna and Mariah Carey.

## Wine, woman and song

HELEN KAYE

**B**RAZILIAN singing superstar Gal Costa will be the headline attraction at the eighth Rishon LeZion Wine Festival on October 1 and 2. She'll give two concerts in the Carmel winery courtyard and then, because the demand for tickets is already so great, a third at the amphitheater on October 3.

Brazil is the fourth country to lend its particular flavor to the festival which last year showcased Greece. As well as Costa there'll be carnival on the streets, with performances from both visiting and Israeli Brazilian song and dance groups such as Batucada Tel Aviv, Capoeira, Ze

## 'Fragments' of Jerusalem come together on Channel 1

HELEN KAYE

**R**ON Havilio's most potent memory is of a divided Jerusalem. Like the Berlin Wall, a wall divided the city at Mamilla.

It is this memory that led to his six-hour documentary on the saga of a city called *Fragments - Jerusalem*.

"In 1986, when I started the film, they were pulling down Mamilla," he says of the district from which the family was forced to move in 1948. "It was a sort of sore in the middle of the city, a metaphor for a city at war."

*Fragments* is at once the highly personal story of Israel's capital and of a family. The making of what Havilio describes as a filmic diary which starts with Mamilla, took 10 years.

Channel 1 will screen two episodes back to back next Tuesday. The first part is called *Mamilla Diary* and deals with Havilio's childhood which is centered on the neighborhood and with the family's peregrinations to Paris, Istanbul and other places where his diplomat father was stationed.

The second segment, *Far-Off Days*, explores Jerusalem's ancient sites and is intertwined with the Havilio family history, which is also the history of Jerusalem.

Each of the subsequent segments are similarly intertwined, with Havilio's own family, including his father, grandparents, his wife Jacqueline whom he met in the Old City in 1967, and his three daughters, Noa, Yasel and Naomi, now 21, 19 and 16.

Havilio, 46, was born and raised

## Pumpkins a smash hit at New York's MTV awards

**A**LTERNATIVE rockers Smashing Pumpkins took the spotlight at the annual MTV music video awards, winning seven prizes and making its first TV appearance since the drug death of a keyboardist this summer.

In the 13th annual rock gala, broadcast live from New York's Radio City Music Hall, the Smashing Pumpkins took the honors for their animated sci-fi video "Tonight, Tonight."

"We've had an interesting year. We lost a friend, we lost a drummer, but we hope we haven't lost any fans," lead singer, guitarist and songwriter Billy Corgan told the audience.

The Smashing Pumpkins, which with eight nominations had the most of anyone, won video, direction, best alternative, best breakthrough, art direction, special effects and cinematography awards.

Corgan remarked later that he had little fondness for videos that now dominate the popular music industry.

"All videos ruin the song," he said. "They block the song into a mental image and for the rest of your life, you'll see that image with that song."

Canadian singer Alanis Morissette won best female artist, new artist and the editing award for *Ironic*. The former child actress's Grammy-winning album *Jagged Little Pill* has done very well in Israel's charts.

Morissette, introduced by actress Susan Sarandon who saluted the growing role of women in music, told the audience, "Although we women are coming into our own, we still love you men for what you are, just to let you know."

Rapper Coolio won best rap video and video from a film for his monster hit *Gangsta's Paradise* and best dance video for *1, 2, 3, 4*. The former convict and crack addict has become a spokesman for responsible music, singing about social issues.

Bush, a British alternative band, won the viewers' choice award, determined by calls to an MTV phone number, for *Glycerine*. Alternative rock band the Foo Fighters won best group video for *Big Me*, a parody of a Meantos candy commercial.

Foo Fighters' Dave Grohl and Pat Smear once played with Nirvana, which broke up after the suicide of lead singer Kurt Cobain.

The Fugees won the R&B award for *Killing Me Softly*, a hip-hop remake of the 1973 hit by Roberta Flack. The band performed a medley that included "Ready or Not" from its album *The Score* and rapper Nas singing "If I Ruled the World."

## Joanne Dru, Western heroine

**J**OANNE Dru, heroine of 1940s and 1950s Western films, including Howard Hawks's classic *Red River*, and John Ford's *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* has died, aged 74.

"After I made *Red River*, all I had submitted to me was Western subjects," she said.

"Once you're typed," she told syndicated Hollywood columnist Hedda Hopper in 1957, "you're lost." The auburn-haired actress said: "While a Western is a good bet for the producer and the male star, it seldom does anything for the woman in it."

Born Joanne LaCock in Logan, West Virginia, she moved to New York and vowed to get into show business.

Dru came West with her first husband, singer and actor Dick Haymes. Hawks spotted her sunning in Palm Springs and put her under contract for *Red River*. (Los Angeles Times)

## TOWER RECORDS' TOP 15

THIS LAST WEEKS ON	WEEK	CHARTS	ARTIST	TITLE
#1	1	3	RAMI KLEINSTEIN	COLLECTION
#2	2	10	V/A	HITMAN 7
#3	3	25	RITA	COLLECTION
#4	5	28	SHLOMO ARTZI	SHNAIM
#5	6	2	FRIENDS OF NATASHA	LIVE
#6	NEW	1	REM	NEW ADVENTURES...
#7	9	3	RIKI GAL	CHEVET OTCHA YOTER
#8	NEW	1	VIA-ROZENBLUM	HGESHEM HACHARON
#9	NEW	1	RONIT SHAHAR	SHALOM LATMIMUT
#10	14	2	AVIV GEFFEN	HAMICHTAV
#11	4	3	DANA INTERNATIONAL	MAGNONA
#12	19	4	RITA	AHAVA GEDOLA
#13	RE	1	MEIR BANAI	MANGINOT HANEDUDIM
#14	8	2	TEA PACKS	KLAVIM LO NOVHIM
#15	10	2	PET SHOP BOYS	BILINGUAL

Tower Records' top-selling albums for last week

### NEXT YEAR in Jerusalem:

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Introduction by Teddy Koller. Text by Tim Dowley and Helke Goshen. PHOTOGRAPHS BY MAX-MOSHE AND HILLA JACOBY

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

Tuesday, September 17, 1996

Report on market reform due today

DAVID HARRIS

THE Brodet Committee on the reform of the capital markets is scheduled to make its recommendations public today.

Finance Minister Dan Meridor called for the creation of the committee in July, during the most recent crisis in the capital market, when bond prices plunged amid a general investor flight from the provident funds, Israel's most popular long-term investment instrument.

Back then, Meridor called markets "a central part of the capital-gathering mechanisms for the business sector" and said they required a number of structural changes.

The committee has been examining four specific topics: the desired structure for savings in the economy; incentives for and taxation of savings; coordination of the legislation, regulation and inspection of the capital markets; and policy formation for the bond, stock and currency markets.

Chaired by Treasury director-general David Brodet, the other committee members are Prof. Amir Barnea, lawyer Arye Minikovich, CPA Prof. Yitzhak Swari, adviser to the finance minister Dr. Shuloh Pessah, the Bank of Israel's Dr. David Klein, and Supervisor of Capital Markets Doron Shorer.

Shaul Braunfeld, director-general of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, also attended committee meetings. The group has been meeting at least twice weekly and was scheduled to report last week. The Finance Ministry attributed the delay to technical difficulties.

While the committee has been carrying out its investigation, other stop-gap solutions have been implemented. The most notable one was the so-called safety-net mechanism, by which the central bank intervened in bond trading by purchasing T-bills when it felt their value was decreasing too sharply.

Since the establishment of the committee, the media has been speculating as to the contents of the report. The suggestions on the eve of its publication included decreases in pension fund benefits, possibly by reducing the pension base from double the average salary to one monthly average salary.

It is also being suggested the committee is recommending a gradual reduction in capital gains taxes on Israeli investments in foreign securities from 35 percent to 20%.

A further rumored proposal is the creation of an economic court, dealing with business and market related crimes.

Current account deficit up \$700m. in first half

DAVID HARRIS

ISRAEL'S current-account deficit totalled \$3.1 billion in the first half of the year, \$700 million larger than in the same period last year.

The current account deficit, excluding unilateral transfers, primarily US aid, increased between January and June to \$5.3b. from \$4.5b. in the first half of 1995, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

The current account deficit has increased in size four-fold over the past three years.

Israel imported goods and services worth \$20.8b., compared to \$19.2b. in the first half last year. Meanwhile, exports of goods and services brought in \$14.7b., an increase of \$700m.

The government has made it clear it sees as a priority the need to drastically cut the balance of payments deficit. In 1992, this comprised a small surplus, but had become a \$4.1b. deficit in the last full year of the previous government.

Foreign debt reached \$20.5b. net (\$45.5b. gross) by the end of June, an increase of some \$700m. This debt was offset by Israel's \$25b. state assets abroad.

Foreign investment in the period rose \$200m. to \$1.2b. Israeli investments abroad increased from \$200m. to \$600m.

People living in the autonomous areas spent \$700m. in the first half,

down \$100m. from the equivalent figure last year. Of this sum, \$100m. was spent by Israelis living in the territories, some 50 percent of the amount purchased from January to June 1995.

Israel paid \$3b. in unilateral transfers in the first half, a \$300m. increase. This is, in the main, because of internal US political difficulties in the second half last year.

By the end of the government's four years in office, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has indicated he hopes Israel will be well on the way to weaning itself of US financial assistance. During his July visit to the US, Netanyahu told Congress that Israel must learn to live without the annual \$1.2b. in civilian aid.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

200,000 customers hooked up to voice mailbox service: The voice mailbox service is more popular here than in any other country abroad, with 12 percent of all households asking for it.

Bezeq last week cited the Taka family in Ashdod for becoming the 200,000 customer of the voice mailbox (ta koll) service since it began five months ago, and awarded the family with 1,000 free phone units.

Judy Siegel

Discount Mortgage Bank has reduced its mortgage rates 0.45%, in line with the other mortgage banks. Discount now offers short-term mortgages at an interest rate of 5.9%, and longer-term ones at an interest of 6.1%.

Galit Lipkis Beck

Merrill Lynch: Leumi turnaround tangible

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

AS Bank Leumi's turnaround becomes more evident, its shares are increasingly attractive for investors with an intermediate and long-term perspective, according to a statement by analysts from US investment bank Merrill Lynch.

According to the report, Bank Leumi has made substantial progress in rationalizing its international operations and improving asset quality since 1993. This year, the bank began major cost-cutting in its domestic business.

Merrill Lynch forecasts these developments will enable Leumi to meet its target of 9% return on equity in 1998. The analysts project net income growth of 2% in 1996, and 14% in 1997.

According to Merrill Lynch,

Leumi's reduction of its operating cost and reorganization of the branch network are among the bank's "most important tools for achieving its strategic goals."

Among the five major Israeli banks, Merrill Lynch ranks Leumi fourth and fifth on a number of efficiency indicators. Leumi's 1995 ratio of costs to average assets of 2.9% and average 40 staff per branch were above the five-bank average of 2.6% and 32 respectively. Average costs per branch last year were also the highest in the sector and 18% above the average.

According to the analysts, Leumi's new management early retirement program reflects it is "committed to holding costs flat at least through 1998."

Dankner to increase stake in Hapoalim Investment

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE Dankner Group, which is controlled by the Dankner family, intends to increase its holdings in Hapoalim Investments, with the aim of becoming a controlling shareholder, sources familiar with the company said yesterday.

One of the options being considered by the group is a partnership deal with the Dovrat-Shrem group, which recently outbid Dankner in a tender for a 23-percent stake in Hapoalim Investments, through its subsidiary Urdan.

So far, the two groups have not met to discuss that prospect.

The tender was held in line with the newly revised Banking Law's limits on the banks' non-banking holdings. If Dankner does not form a partnership with Dovrat-Shrem, it will have to purchase additional stock on the open market. The group, through its subsidiary Israel Salt Industries, currently holds 15% of Hapoalim Investments' shares, which it plans to maintain.

Shmuel Dankner, who heads the group, said the shares he bought shortly before the 23% tender were purchased at a "good price."

Dovrat-Shrem's bid was some

\$25 million higher than Dankner's. Last week Dankner looked into the possibility of blocking the sale of Hapoalim Investments to Dovrat-Shrem by purchasing a 25% holding in Urdan.

This would have allowed a move which would have let Dankner derail Dovrat-Shrem's plan to raise NIS60m. through a rights issue, which requires the approval of 75% of Urdan's shareholders.

The rights issue is apparently Urdan's first step to fund an investment in Hapoalim Investments. The acquisition has placed a debt burden on Urdan, estimated at some NIS130m. - NIS150m. At the time of the purchase Dovrat-Shrem said the bulk of the funding would come from the capital market.

Dankner turned to Bank Leumi's mutual funds and Analyst brokerage firm in an attempt to purchase their 16% combined holding in Urdan. Financial sources said Dankner examined the option but decided it is not worthwhile, even though it is theoretically possible.

Dovrat-Shrem could not be reached for comment.

Zisser, Wertheimer agree to Africa Israel's spin-off

Jerusalem Post Staff

BUSINESSMEN Moti Zisser and Eitan Wertheimer, who together hold about 14 percent of Africa Israel's shares, have agreed to support the holding company's spin-off at the company's shareholders meeting, scheduled for Thursday.

The Wertheimer-Zisser group yesterday signed an agreement with Bank Leumi, whereby the two agreed to the spin-off. As part of the agreement, Leumi will sell the Wertheimer-Zisser group's shares

along with their own when it sells its surplus shares in Africa Israel, after Migdal - the insurance subsidiary - is spun off from the group.

The consortium will pay the bank a 5% commission for the sale. According to the agreement, the Wertheimer-Zisser group will retain its right to maintain its shares in Africa Israel if it decides to compete in the tender Bank Leumi intends to launch for the sale of its surplus holdings in the company.

Bezeq to allow Internet access for non-subscribers

JUDY SIEGEL

COMMUNICATIONS Minister Limor Livnat yesterday gave Bezeq permission to supply Internet services to all phone users on a non-subscription basis.

This arrangement had previously been rejected by her predecessor, Shulamit Aloni.

In a meeting with Bezeq director-general Yitzhak Kaul, Livnat gave the go ahead to Bezeq's 135 service, which had been in the planning stages for a long time. The proposal, of course, met with much opposition from commercial Internet servers providing links to the computer network on a subscription basis only. The date for the launching of 135 and prices have not yet been announced.

Livnat said she regarded allowing anyone with a computer and modem access to the Internet as a positive development. Schools could use it to provide pupils with Internet access, she said.

Kaul said he expects hundreds of thousands of new Internet users to take advantage of the service.

Livnat to Poland for talks on telecom cooperation

JUDY SIEGEL

COMMUNICATIONS Minister Limor Livnat is leaving today for a three-day visit to Poland to discuss a cooperation agreement between the two countries in the field of communications.

Livnat will also look into possibilities of involvement in other projects and encouraging private investors to invest in Poland.

Livnat, who was invited by her

Polish counterpart, will also attend the dedication of Netia-Telekom, a subsidiary of RP Telekom, a subsidiary of the Dankner Group, along with the prime minister of Sweden and the Polish communications minister.

A number of Israeli industrialists in the telecoms field joined her on the trip. She will also visit Jewish sites in Warsaw and the Majdanek concentration camp.



Dozens of Filipino activists picket the offices of the Energy Regulatory Board in Manila yesterday to denounce recent increases in domestic fuel prices. The protesters stood behind cardboard replicas of petrol pumps symbolizing foreign and local oil companies, which they said were benefitting from the oil price hike. (Reuters)

Swiss gov't considers slaughter of 230,000 potential mad cows

ZURICH (Reuters) - The Swiss cabinet yesterday proposed the slaughter of up to 230,000 cattle in a bid to eradicate mad cow disease in Switzerland once and for all and restore consumer confidence.

"Mad cow disease", or Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE), is a brain-wasting disease that scientists say may be linked to a human equivalent, Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease.

Switzerland trails only Britain in the number of BSE cases. "We want to restore consumers' confidence in beef and put consumers at ease in the European Union," Swiss president Jean Pascal Delamuraz said at a news

conference in Berne.

Britain is considering cutting a scheme to slaughter an extra 147,000 cattle most at risk to mad cow disease. It has already slaughtered around 450,000 older cattle over 30 months old under a separate scheme.

Last week the agency reported three new cases of mad cow disease in Switzerland, including two animals born after the 1990 ban on using animal meal feed.

The mad cow cases reported for August and September bring the total to 223, of which more than 10 followed the ban. Some 160,000 BSE cases have been reported in Britain over the past 10 years.

In the first eight months of 1996, Swiss authorities recorded 36 BSE cases.

Switzerland banned imports of British beef in March and saw its own beef barred from export to Germany and Austria.

The Swiss cabinet said it was proposing the slaughter of cattle born before December 1, 1990, the year Switzerland initiated a ban on feeding cows with beef bone and remains which could help spread the disease.

It also recommended the slaughter of direct offspring of BSE infected cows.

The measure was aimed at establishing Switzerland as a BSE-free nation, to rehabilitate the market, minimize potential risks and bring back consumer confidence, the Swiss Economics Ministry said.

Raytheon gets \$1b. contract from FAA

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The Federal Aviation Administration said yesterday it awarded a contract potentially worth nearly \$1 billion to a team of companies led by Raytheon Co. to upgrade air traffic control systems.

Raytheon won the contract over rival bidders Boeing Co. and Lockheed Martin Corp. because of the technology portion of its proposal, FAA officials said.

The contract is to build the Standard Terminal Automation Replacement System, or STARS, to replace air traffic control computers with a next-generation system for FAA and Department of Defense facilities across the US. The systems are used in the airspace within about 80 kilometers of airports.

Raytheon will provide systems and services necessary to develop, integrate and install new traffic computers, displays and software in Terminal Radar Approach Control facilities and towers, the FAA said in a statement.

"It will provide air traffic controllers with the very latest in technology, replacing 20-year-old equipment," Transportation Secretary Federico Pena said. "Consumers will see fewer delays, systems will be safer, more reliable, and will grow as traffic grows over the next several decades."

Travel on US airlines is expected to grow to nearly 800 million people by 2003 from about 580 million in 1995, the FAA said.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Table with columns: Currency (deposit for), 3 MONTHS, 6 MONTHS, 12 MONTHS. Rows include US dollar, Pound sterling, German mark, Swiss franc, Yen.

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates\* (16.9.96)

Table with columns: CURRENCY BASKET, Buy, Sell, BANKNOTES, Buy, Sell, Rep. Rates. Rows include US dollar, German mark, French franc, Japanese yen, Dutch florin, Swiss franc, Swedish krona, Norwegian krona, Danish krone, Finnish mark, Canadian dollar, Australian dollar, S. African rand, Belgian franc, Austrian schilling, Italian lira, Jordanian dinar, Egyptian pound, ECU, Irish punt, Spanish peseta.

\*These rates vary according to bank. \*\*Bank of Israel. SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

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PRIME TARGET (סגור) Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents. Date: 12.9.96. Purchase Price: 151.41. Redemption Price: 149.15.

PRIME Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents. Date: 12.9.96. Purchase Price: 111.10. Redemption Price: 109.66.

Attention Subscribers Going Away on Holiday? If you wish to suspend your subscription while you're on holiday, please inform us now, so we can efficiently process your request.

Israel Airports Authority Land Border Terminals Passenger Terminal Activity on Yom Kippur. On Yom Kippur the land border terminals will be closed. The terminals will open and close at the following times: Table with columns Terminal, Closing Date, Closing Time, Opening Date, Opening Time.



Key Representative Rates table showing US dollar, Sterling, and Mark exchange rates.

NEW YORK STOCK MARKETS

New York market indexes table including DJ Industrial, DJ Transport, and NYSE Composite.

Other stock market indexes

Other stock market indexes table including FTSE 100, Nikkei 225, and Hang Seng.

Israeli stocks in NY

Israeli stocks in NY table listing companies like Amich, Amich, and Amich with their prices and changes.

Comstock Trading Ltd. (Date 16-SEP-96)

INTERNATIONAL MONEY MARKETS

Dollar crossrates (US) table showing exchange rates for various currencies.

Libor rates table showing interest rates for different terms.

Foreign financial data courtesy of Comstock Trading Ltd. table.

WORLD COMMODITIES AND METALS

US commodities table listing prices for various goods.

London commodities table listing prices for various goods.

Spot market metals (US) table listing prices for various metals.

New York metal futures table listing prices for various metal futures.

London metal futures table listing prices for various metal futures.

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London metal futures table listing prices for various metal futures.

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New York metal futures table listing prices for various metal futures.

London metal futures table listing prices for various metal futures.

TEL AVIV STOCKS

Multi-sided trading

Multi-sided trading table listing various stocks and their prices.

Two-sided trading

Two-sided trading table listing various stocks and their prices.

Investment Companies

Investment Companies table listing various investment funds.

Property, Building & Agriculture

Property, Building & Agriculture table listing various real estate and agricultural stocks.

Oil Exploration

Oil Exploration table listing various oil exploration stocks.

PARALLEL LIST Trade & Services Property, Building & Agriculture

PARALLEL LIST table listing various parallel listed stocks.

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK advertisement text.

INTERNATIONAL STOCK PRICES

INTERNATIONAL STOCK PRICES table listing various international stocks.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK table listing various New York stocks.

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Low CPI boosts market

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET

ROBERT DANIEL

Two-Sided Index 194.94 +2.81% Maof Index 204.00 +2.60%

STOCK indexes jumped more than 2.5 percent yesterday, led by shares of Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd., after the Consumer Price Index came in below estimates, raising hopes for an interest-rate cut.

The macro and micro conditions have changed slightly regarding interest rates and expectations for interest rates," said Idan Azoulay, portfolio manager at Impact Securities in Tel Aviv.

The inflation index rose 0.4% in August from July, compared with estimates ranging from 0.6% to 0.8%. Lower housing prices accounted for the drop.

Teva's shares surged 5.25%, after its American depository receipts rose 6% late last week.

A US Food and Drug Administration panel on Thursday is to review copaxone, Teva's first original drug, a treatment for multiple sclerosis.

Also, last Wednesday, Teva said the FDA cleared the company to market Clonazepam, a drug to treat seizures. The drug is a generic version of the Roche Holding AG's klonopin.

Investors are also looking toward tomorrow's release of the Brodet Committee's report proposing structural changes in the capital markets.

The Two-Sided Index leaped 2.81% to 194.94, while the Maof Index climbed 2.6% to 204.

Bank Hapoalim was the most active issue, rising 1% on NIS 7.7 million worth of shares traded.

American-Israeli Paper Mills Ltd., known here as Hadera Paper, advanced 4.5%. Nice Systems Ltd., a producer of digital voice-logging systems, rose 4.25%.

Both were following their American depository receipts higher. Koor Industries Ltd. shares added 2.75%. The state-controlled telephone company, Bezeq, climbed 3.5%.

Frankfurt, London stocks hit new highs

WORLD MARKET ROUNDUP

LONDON (Reuters) - German and British stocks closed at record highs yesterday, boosted by another strong start on Wall Street, where investors are confident US inflation is under control.

The German DAX index, underpinned by the firmer dollar which makes German exports more attractive, ended up 33.91 points at 2,629.87, only just below the session high of 2,630.32.

Frankfurt floor-trade ended about 30 points above its previous intraday peak, set on Friday.

London stocks also scored a record close at 3977.2, up 9.3 points on the day and some eight points up on their Friday intraday high, but off Monday's opening peak of 3,980.8.

Dealers said cautious investors were still sitting back to see if New York could repeat its 1.15 percent rise of Friday, when the Dow closed at a record 5,838.52 as treasuries powered ahead.

By the time London closed the Dow was up 32.55 points at 5,871.07, or more than half a percentage point.

The psychological 4,000-level looked a probability for the FTSE in the near term, London dealers said.

Dow soars to record close; pulls back from 5,900

WALL STREET REPORT

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Blue-chip stocks soared to a record close yesterday, building on the previous session's strong gains, though the Dow index failed to hold above the 5,900 level, which it breached for the first time in late trading.

The Dow Jones industrial average ended the session up 50.68 points to 5,889.20, according to early, unofficial results, after powering to an all-time high of 5,905.47.

Advancing issues topped declines 7 to 5 on heavy volume of more than 426 million shares on the New York Stock Exchange.

The Nasdaq index added 5.28 to 1,193.95.

SYRIA

(Continued from Page 1)

meeting did not discuss the November regional economic summit bodies well for the event, a senior US official said.

Mubarak's statement last week that the conference would be held is also taken as a good sign, he said.

Until recently, the official conceded, the administration was concerned by statements emanating from Egypt casting doubt on whether the conference would be held without Israeli concessions in the peace process.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said the US is unconcerned by the statements issued at the Arab League summit, and prefers to judge developments by "what they say in private to each other."

"I see no reason for us to be concerned at all this morning about the Middle East peace process or its health," Burns told reporters.

In a break with peace process protocol, Ambassador to the US Elihu Ben-Elissar will not link up with the Ross team when it comes to Jerusalem. An embassy official explained that this is because Ben-Elissar, who arrived here two weeks ago, is still settling into the job.

CURRENCY CROSS-RATES

CURRENCY CROSS-RATES table listing exchange rates for various currencies.

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# New chapter for Arsenal

## Wright hat-trick boosts Arsenal with 4-1 win

### Wenger to take reins

LONDON (Reuters) — Ian Wright hit a hat-trick as Arsenal celebrated the appointment of Arsene Wenger as their new manager with a 4-1 win to deny Sheffield Wednesday the chance of taking top spot in the Premier League yesterday.

Wednesday was in command for much of the first half and deservedly held a 1-0 lead at the interval when striker Andy Booth outpaced Ian Keown to latch on to Ian Nolan's through pass and tuck a shot into the far corner.

Summary: Arsenal 4 (David Platt 57th min, Ian Wright 61st penalty, 78th, 89th) Sheffield Wednesday 1 (Andy Booth 25th). Halftime 0-1. Attendance: 33,461.

### Breath tests after matches

LONDON (Reuters) — Professional English soccer players will face random breath tests after matches and training sessions, the Football Association said yesterday.

"We will be testing players at every professional league club this season, either after matches or at the end of training sessions," FA spokesman Steve Double said.

"If a player is drinking enough to produce a positive test after a game it would indicate a serious drink problem."

Former England skipper Tony Adams admitted at the weekend that he was an alcoholic.

### Maradona unsure if he'll play again

LONDON (AP) — Diego Maradona is still leaving everyone guessing if he'll play soccer again.

The 35-year-old Argentine, at a brief news conference Sunday while attending a street soccer tournament in London, hedged about his future in the game.

"It's not decided if I will play again, but I don't think so," said Maradona, once considered the world's No. 1 player.

"I'm definitely going to finish my training course to be a certified manager," he added, fueling speculation he may one day seek to coach Argentina's national team.

Maradona, who completed a 10-day treatment program for drug abuse last month in Switzerland, has been on a "semi-holiday" in recent weeks in Canada and the Caribbean.

TOKYO (Reuters) — Frenchman Arsene Wenger was named as the new manager of Premier League club Arsenal yesterday following his release from Grampus Eight in Japan.

Wenger, who turns 47 next month, will be the fifth man to lead Arsenal in 18 months following George Graham, Stewart Houston, Bruce Rioch and Pat Rice, who is in temporary charge of the team.

Arsenal said Wenger, former coach of French clubs Nancy and Monaco, would take over at Highbury on September 30.

"Why did I accept this offer? Because I have a special commitment with this club Arsenal," Wenger told a news conference in Nagoya.

"And because I refused too many offers and that in the brains or the heads of the people in Europe they would think that I don't want to go back or don't want to take any offer again."

Wenger becomes only the fourth man from outside the British Isles to coach a senior English club following Slovak Jozef Venglos at Aston Villa, Argentine Ossie Ardiles at Tottenham and Dutchman Ruud Gullit at Chelsea.

His first priority will be to bring stability to a club which has been severely criticized for the way it has handled its affairs over the past two years.

Following the departure of Graham in February 1995 for receiving illegal payments, Arsenal has had two spells under Houston as caretaker manager, and a season under Rioch, who was sacked five days before the start of this season.

Over the weekend the club, rocked by midfielder Paul Merson's admission of drink, gambling and drugs addictions in November 1994, was hit again when club captain Tony Adams announced he was an alcoholic.

Shortly before the announcement of Wenger's appointment, Houston was named manager of Queens Park Rangers just three days after quitting Arsenal.

Houston succeeds former England midfielder Ray Wilkins at the first division club.

Wenger said he had originally hoped to take over formally at Arsenal next January, with an interim manager running the squad until he moved to Britain next June.

His last match in charge of Grampus Eight will be on September 28.

Wenger is among France's most respected soccer coaches, a man to whom colleagues turn for advice.

Having made his name at Monaco, he has not been short of opportunities to move onwards and upwards, having been courted by Franz Beckenbauer's Bayern Munich as well as his friend David Dein's Arsenal.

But the timing was never quite right and his commitment to the contract he was serving steadfast.

He once told the French sports daily *L'Equipe* he had always been impressed by the constancy of English fans' support for their teams.

Wenger said he had spent too long at Monaco. "It's rare in modern football for a coach to be



NEW BLOOD — Arsene Wenger will take over Arsenal at month's end.

at a club for seven years," he said.

"The climate in the club had deteriorated but I wanted to respect the engagement I had made."

He was sacked in 1994 after a very poor start to the season.

Wenger has in the past been linked with the French national team job. But he said he had never received an offer from his country's federation.

"I wouldn't have wanted it. I prefer a club. I'm too young to be only out on the training field occasionally," he said, implying he would probably have turned down Glenn Hoddle's offer a few weeks ago of the job of England's technical director.

Wenger said the fact that his former Monaco midfielder had become England coach at such a young age was different because it was his own country.

After leaving Monaco, Wenger received no interesting offers immediately. "After two months I got itchy feet and decided I would say yes to the next serious offer that came," he said.

He surprised even himself by going to Japan's Grampus Eight but has no regrets. "It has been a very good experience," he said.

Wenger turned a bottom-of-the-table J.League side into championship hopefuls and domestic cup winners.

"Football in Japan is much stronger than people imagine in Europe," said Wenger, an assiduous student of the game.

A midfielder with Mulhouse and Racing Strasbourg in his native Alsace region, Wenger began his coaching career at the age of 31 with the Strasbourg juniors.

He moved on to Cannes as assistant coach, then at 34 took the reins of first division Nancy where he stayed for three years before joining Monaco in 1987.

In his first season, Monaco won the French league title with England internationals Hoddle and Mark Hateley.

In 1992, he guided Monaco to the final of the European Cup Winners' Cup, coincidentally the last trophy Arsenal won.

Wenger said his main aim in football was to have his teams play with style. "You need to win to achieve that but I'm not interested in simply winning," he said.

Wenger is already well aware of the talents of two players on Arsenal's books — Frenchmen Patrick Vieira and Remi Garde, who joined from AC Milan and Strasbourg respectively.

"(Vieira) has lots of talent. He has the qualities of a modern midfielder. He's 20 and has lots of room for improvement. He has a great future," Wenger said.

Garde, a 30-year-old defender, had been out of contract with Strasbourg and joined Arsenal as a free agent. Wenger was delighted the club had been able to sign a player of his experience and expertise for nothing inside last month's British transfer deadline.

He said the notable movement of French players in the close-season international transfer market was good for his country's game and the national team. France stage the World Cup in two years' time.

"When a player is abroad he pushes himself to the utmost of his possibilities, as if to prove why he's there and I think that goes for a coach too," Wenger said.

# Mickey and Motti's boys fail to surprise Maccabi

ARYEH DEAN COHEN

THE M&M boys — Mickey Berkowitz and Motti Aroesti — took on their alma mater, Maccabi Tel Aviv last night, but their team, M.M. Givat Shmuel, failed to show their managers' old flash, losing to the defending champs, 84-72.

Givat Shmuel's zone defense looked like Aroesti at his prime in the early going, keeping Maccabi from going inside.

However, once Maccabi guards Oded Katash and Doron Sheffer started hitting from outside, big men Randy White and Buck Johnson were able to establish themselves underneath, and a 42-34 halftime lead soon ballooned into double figures, clearing the way for early garbage time.

Meanwhile, Hapoel Jerusalem kept pace with the champs, overcoming a determined Hapoel Safed club in overtime, 98-88, while Hapoel Eilat escaped with its first win, a narrow 84-83 triumph over Hapoel Holon.

Newcomer Maccabi Ra'anana won the battle of the Sharon, taking its first National League victory, 90-82 over Bnei Herzliya, while Hapoel Tel Aviv again looked pitiful, this time getting mauled by Maccabi Rishon LeZion, 107-78, Tel Aviv's second consecutive home loss.

Maccabi Tel Aviv 84  
M.M. Givat Shmuel 72

Berkowitz promised an NBA-style show at the arena in Even Yehuda where his club hosted Maccabi Tel Aviv, and lived up to his word with a pre-game laser show, cheerleaders, and contests for the fans.

Unfortunately, his team failed to match the caliber of the special effects, although they gave it a gritty try in the first half. Led by Gerald Paddio, who had 12 points early on, Givat Shmuel (1-1) was tied at 11 with the champs, and trailed by only four

late in the half before Maccabi asserted itself underneath and started hammering away at the young Givat Shmuel squad.

The second half was all Maccabi, sparked by Brad Leaf whose 19 points off the bench contributed greatly to his club's relatively easy victory.

Hapoel Jerusalem 98  
Hapoel Safed 88 (OT)

Adi Gordon again came up aces for Jerusalem, which looked like it was about to be surprised by Safed.

Despite playing with a squad that has barely practiced together, the Northerners had coach Pini Gershon's squad on the ropes after coming back from a six-point deficit early in the second half.

In fact, when new foreign player Tyrone Mays hit two foul shots with 52 seconds left to give Safed a 79-78 lead, it looked like it would score an upset. That's when Gordon hit a three-pointer to put Jerusalem on top 81-79 with just 32 seconds left.

Hapoel Eilat 84  
Hapoel Holon 83

With time running out, Holon's Milton Wagner tried a desperation three-pointer that looked like it was going in. However, Holon's Kobi Baloul, thinking the ball would go short, grabbed it and put it in for a two-point basket, leaving his team a point short, and Holon fans wondering whether he shouldn't have let the ball go.

Eilat led most of the way, but a flurry led by Holon's young Erel Besser got his team back into it. Eilat's James Forrest was unstoppable on offense, scoring 26 points, but the club played another poor defensive game.

Maccabi Ra'anana 90  
Bnei Herzliya 82

Finally cleared, albeit temporarily, by the league's financial overseers to start its season, Bnei Herzliya (0-1) came up short, particularly underneath.

Ra'anana's Tomer Steinhauer controlled play early in the paint, limiting Ofer Fleischer to no points in the first half, while foreigner Mark Brisker was always on hand to spark his club's offense when it needed a shot in the arm.

Herzliya's new foreigners, Todd Mitchell (35) and Terence Stansbury, were the only legitimate offensive weapons coach Muli Katzurim's club could muster, but that was only enough to keep the game close, as Ra'anana's (1-1) Koran Amisha earned a measure of vengeance against the club that let him go this season.

Maccabi Rishon LeZion 107  
Hapoel Tel Aviv 78

Former Maccabi Tel Aviv star Doron Janchev got some shooting practice in against Hapoel Tel Aviv at Ussishkin, scoring 33 points in what was a laughter from halftime on.

With Darren Daye adding 28, it was just a question of how big the point differential would be, as Tel Aviv players insisted on taking impossible three-point shots rather than try to play any kind of organized offense. But by then, it didn't matter.

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National Basketball League

Team	W	L	Pts.
Maccabi Rishon	2	0	4
Hapoel Jerusalem	2	0	4
Hapoel Eilat	1	1	3
Givat Shmuel	1	1	3
Maccabi Ra'anana	1	1	3
Hapoel Gali Elyon	1	0	2
Maccabi Tel Aviv	1	0	2
Hapoel Tel Aviv	0	2	2
Hapoel Safed	0	2	2
Bnei Herzliya	0	1	1
Hapoel Holon	0	1	1
Maccabi R Gan	0	0	0

# Israel to host Russia in World Cup qualifier

THE national soccer team will host Russia in a World Cup qualifier on October 9, the Israel Football Association announced yesterday. The match, at Ramat Gan's National Stadium, will begin at 5 pm.

One day earlier, the under-21 squads will face off at Herzliya.

The national team match will be Israel's second, following its impressive 2-1 home win over

Bulgaria earlier this month.

In other news, Gabriel Levy, the new head of the IFA, will take over his duties next week, replacing Azrikam Milchan.

Post Sports Staff

begin at 5 pm.

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### Yesterday's 4-day County Championship match results:

At Canterbury: Kent beat Hampshire by 148 runs. Kent 445 and 211. Hampshire 358 and 150 (G.White 66, P.Whiteaker 53; M.McCague 6-51). Kent 24 points Hampshire 5.

At Northampton: Northamptonshire beat Lancashire by nine wickets. Lancashire 356 and 275. Northamptonshire 471 and 163-1 (R.Bailey 92 not out, M.Loye 67 not out). Northants 24 points Lancashire 7.

At Chelmsford: Sussex beat Essex by 137 runs. Sussex 363 and 417-8 declared (V.Drakes 145 not out). Essex 360 and 283 (R.Rollins 59; I.Salisbury 8-75). Sussex 24 points Essex 8.

At Cardiff: Glamorgan v Surrey match drawn. Glamorgan 364 and 442-9 declared (S.James

County Championship Standings

Team	P	W	L	D	Bat Pts	Bowl Pts	Total
Leicestershire	16	9	1	6	53	57	272
Surrey	16	8	1	7	49	60	258
Kent	16	9	1	6	47	48	257
Essex	16	8	4	4	54	55	246
Derbyshire	16	8	3	5	50	54	247
Yorkshire	16	8	5	3	46	54	237
Warwickshire	16	7	6	3	35	53	209
Middlesex	16	7	5	4	30	55	209
Worcestershire	16	5	4	7	41	60	202
Sussex	16	6	8	2	36	54	192
Glamorgan	16	5	5	6	46	39	183
Somerset	16	4	6	6	34	67	173
Hampshire	16	3	7	6	37	65	158
Gloucestershire	16	4	7	5	22	65	156
Northamptonshire	16	3	8	5	35	65	153
Lancashire	16	2	6	8	45	48	149
Nottinghamshire	16	1	9	6	38	51	123
Durham	16	0	11	5	22	56	93

### Brisbane, Essendon in semis

MELBOURNE (AP) — The Brisbane Bears demolished reigning premiers Carlton by nearly 100 points Saturday to stake a place in the Australian Football League semifinals.

The Australian Rules football win may be a costly one for the Bears, however, as star player Michael Voss injured his ankle in the third quarter. The Bears beat Carlton by the second-biggest margin in semifinal history, 26.14 (170) to 10.13 (73).

Brisbane plays North Melbourne next weekend and Sydney faces Essendon to decide which teams will advance to the September 28 grand final.

Earlier Saturday, emphasis on goalkicking practice during the week paid big dividends for Essendon as the Bombers beat West Coast. Captain Gary O'Donnell and defender Gavin Wanganen said vastly improved accuracy in front of goals had helped the team as they crushed the Eagles 22.12 (144) to 8.19 (67).

Joseph Hoffman, Sports Editor

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# No leads on missing soldier's whereabouts

BILL HUTMAN

POLICE received several phone calls yesterday from citizens claiming to have seen missing soldier Sharon Edri but turned up nothing, leaving investigators with few leads as to his possible whereabouts.

Last night, Jerusalem Police chief Arye Amit met with Edri's family at Moshav Zanoah, near Beit Shemesh, to update them on the search for Sharon, who disappeared last Monday night.

Police sources said Amit had nothing new to tell the family, and mainly tried to reassure them that police were doing everything they could to locate the 20-year-old soldier.

Family members called on police to renew the searches for Sharon. However, Amit stood by his decision to halt the searches and concentrate instead on intelligence information and investigation work.

"We already carried out an intensive search for four days in the area between Tzrifin [the army base where Edri was last seen] and his home, and came up with nothing," a senior police source said.

There is no justification for starting the search again. The minute we receive even the smallest hint that a search might turn up something, we will start look-

ing again," the source said.

Since the search for Edri began a week ago, police have received a number of reports from people who believe they saw Sharon, and even one or two reports that he was kidnapped by Palestinian terrorists. None of the reports were reliable, however.

On Sunday, the General Security Service and police were informed by the Red Cross that the organization received an anonymous phone call from someone claiming to be affiliated with the Islamic Jihad, saying Edri was kidnapped by the terror group.

The GSS checked out the information, but it turned out to be unfounded, according to police sources.

The homes of Edri's friends and places he frequented have been searched by police.

As of yesterday, the main avenue being investigated was a dispute Edri allegedly had with his Nahal unit commander over sick leave.

Police sources said there is concern that Edri took his own life because of the dispute or is perhaps hiding out somewhere. The possibility that he was kidnapped by terrorists does not appear likely, but has not been ruled out, the sources said.



Lili Nabhoh, president of the Rights commission (left), Swiss Minister Flavio Cotti, and Chief of the National Bank Hans Meyer, announce yesterday in Berne, Switzerland a decision by the Swiss Federal Council to launch an investigation of remaining Jewish assets in Swiss banks. (AP)

# Swiss allocate SFr 5 million to probe Holocaust-era economic activity

MARILYN HENRY  
NEW YORK

THE Swiss Federal Council has allocated 5 million Swiss francs for an inquiry into Switzerland's economic activities during World War II and of Holocaust-era assets in domestic financial institutions, officials said yesterday.

Over the weekend, there had been reports that Finance Minister Kaspar Villiger proposed cutting the estimated budget for the inquiry by one-third. That sparked speculation that the Swiss, stung by news

reports recounting the history of the Jewish Agency and other Jewish organizations involved in the efforts to recover the dormant Jewish assets, he said in a statement.

The reports of potential cuts in the budget did not reflect a reduction in the government's commitment to the investigation. Swiss

governmental and banking sources told *The Jerusalem Post*. "Obviously it will be a continuing investigation, and they will have to pay for as long as it continues," one Swiss source said.

The Swiss inquiry is separate from the audit of dormant Jewish accounts in Swiss banks, which is to be conducted under the auspices of an independent committee headed by American banker Paul Volcker.

governmental and banking sources told *The Jerusalem Post*. "Obviously it will be a continuing investigation, and they will have to pay for as long as it continues," one Swiss source said.

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**WEATHER**

Forecast: Partly cloudy. Clear in the south. Further drop in temperature.

**AROUND THE WORLD**

City	Low	High	Notes
Amsterdam	41	19	cloudy
Berlin	42	17	rain
Buenos Aires	42	17	rain
Chicago	42	17	cloudy
London	42	17	cloudy
Los Angeles	42	17	cloudy
Madrid	42	17	cloudy
Mexico	42	17	cloudy
New York	42	17	cloudy
Paris	42	17	cloudy
Rome	42	17	cloudy
Stockholm	42	17	cloudy
Tel Aviv	42	17	cloudy
Tokyo	42	17	cloudy
Vienna	42	17	cloudy
Zurich	42	17	cloudy

**Winning cards**  
IN last night's Chance drawing, the winning cards were the jack of spades, the nine of hearts, the jack of diamonds, and the nine of clubs.

# Israeli jewelers charged with laundering \$42m. for Colombian drug cartel

MIAMI (AP) - When police detectives in Miami went looking into a California jewelry robbery two years ago, they stumbled upon a lot more.

They found a family of jewelers tied to the Israeli mob laundering \$42.5 million for the Cali cartel between February 1991 and June 1993, according to a federal indictment made public last Wednesday.

Some of the tainted cash went through a fish company owned by the Colombian drug ring, which tried to smuggle liquid cocaine in the seafood shipments.

Six people were named in a 177-count indictment on money laundering charges with each count carrying a sentence of five to 10 years.

Four of those listed on the indictment were Israeli immigrants from the Kashtit family, which operated three jewelry companies from a downtown Miami office building.

"It was a family affair," said Richard Gregorie, assistant US Attorney. "This is Israeli organized crime working with Colombian dope dealers."

Prosecutors said the illegal dealings of the Kashtits were masterminded in the United States by Eli Tisona. He is the father of Kineret Kashtit and believed by federal officials to be a high-profile figure in Israeli organized crime. He was the partner of drug lord Phanor Arizabaleta in the fish company Colapia S.A. since 1988.

The case was broken when two detectives from Metro-Dade police in Miami tracked some stolen goods from a California jewelry robbery in 1993 to the Kashtit's businesses, Gregorie said.

Detectives began checking the Kashtit's account transactions and discovered money flowing from US banks to accounts in Colombia.

"They went a little farther than they were required to and checked the accounts," Gregorie said. "They found millions of dollars and we brought in the IRS and, lo and behold, we have a two-year investigation."

The owner of the jewelry stores, Israeli immigrant Ian Kashtit, was able to fool Nations Bank and other Miami financial institutions. He would dump gym bags filled with bundles of \$20 bills at teller windows up to three times a week. Investigators discovered some of the dirty money was used to buy and ship equipment for a Colombian fish farm owned by Arizabaleta and Tisona, Gregorie said.

The Cali cartel supplies most of the world's cocaine and controls a growing share of the global heroin market.

# Talks fail to reach deal on interest rates

DAVID HARRIS

TALKS held by the government, Bank of Israel and Manufacturers Association last night failed to reach a satisfactory compromise for the disgruntled industrialists, who are demanding a 2 percent to 3% drop in interest rates.

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky left the meeting early saying "nothing will be sorted out tonight. It will take several more meetings before we reach agreement."

The meeting at the Treasury was also attended by Finance Minister Dan Meridor, Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel and Manufacturers Association president Dan Propper. A similar meet-

ing was also held last month between Frenkel and the industrialists, under the chairmanship of Sharansky.

Propper continues to accuse Frenkel of causing irreparable damage to industrialists' and the entire economy.

In response, Frenkel says he is prepared to cut interest rates, but only when inflation has been curbed. The International Monetary Fund report, published last week following the organization's annual inspection of Israel's economy, backed Frenkel's monetary policy, saying any divergence from it could cause severe financial problems.

A LABOR Party report absolves party leader Shimon Peres of any blame for the loss of last May's elections to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and the Likud.

The thick report is the work of former Knesset speaker MK Shevah Weiss and will be released officially today at a press conference, which Peres is expected to attend.

Weiss finds no fault with the basic policy and message with which the party was seeking to convince the electorate, nor any problem with the candidate for prime minister himself. The blame,

according to Weiss, lay elsewhere. Weiss faults Labor's salesmanship efforts as formulated and executed by information campaign chief MK Haim Ramon. Weiss considers Ramon remiss for not having made greater use of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassination and for not responding more forcefully to the Likud's Jerusalem campaign.

He also judges that the Labor campaigners would have done better not to dismiss out of hand those few polls which showed near parity between the prime ministerial candidates, including a poll which

gave Netanyahu a thin edge. Instead, the report says, Labor preferred to trust the reports which continuously indicated a lead for Peres and Labor.

In seeking to explain the electoral defeat, the report points an accusing finger at MK Moshe Shahal, who was in charge of the campaign organizational effort, and at elections day organizer Meir Nitzan. Their work was negligent and disorganized to the extent that it alone could account for all the votes which Peres needed to bridge the gap with Netanyahu, Weiss finds.

The report also blames the new election rules. That voters' ID cards were not stamped and that voters were not required to sign the rolls could have encouraged fraud to Labor's detriment, Weiss says. The Labor representatives hired to supervise the voting and ballot counting were lax and did not carry out their duties as they should have, the report claims. Some were reported napping on the job.

Campaign manager Binyamin Ben-Eliezer is also singled out for severe criticism. Weiss concludes that under Ben-Eliezer the campaign headquarters functioned like an orchestra without a conductor.

# Labor election report absolves Peres

SARAH HONIG

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Officer testifies in Deri trial

Dep.-Cmdr Nahum Levy began testifying yesterday in Jerusalem District Court about his questioning in London of prosecution witness Martin Brown in the Aryeh Deri fraud trial. A hearing was held for Brown in London after he refused to come to Israel to testify.

Brown is a witness in the alleged "trips to London affair." According to the prosecution, co-defendant Moshe Weinberg bribed Deri by financing trips for the two to London, where they were hosted by Brown. Levy said one of the excuses Brown used to avoid coming to Israel was that he didn't want to hurt the peace process and Rabin's government by testifying against Deri. *Itm*

### EI AI appoints new director

The EI AI board of directors, in a special meeting yesterday, approved the appointment of Yoel Feldschuh as the airline's new managing director. Feldschuh, the choice of Transport Minister Yitzhak Levy, is 47. Since 1994, he has served as the president of Champion Motors, the importers of Audi, Volkswagen and Fiat. He is a retired Air Force brigadier general, who was an F15 pilot and a base commander. During the Gulf War he served as an intelligence officer. Feldschuh has a Master of Science in business administration from MIT. He replaces Rafi Harlev, who headed EI AI for 14 years. *Haim Shapiro*

### Dayan given suspended sentence

The Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court gave director Assi Dayan a two-month suspended sentence yesterday for abetting forgery to obtain items and receiving goods under fraudulent circumstances. He was also fined NIS 750 and will be fined an additional NIS 2,500 if he violates the same laws in the next two years. *Itm*

### Milk, dairy products prices up

The prices of milk and dairy products went up an average of 4.75% last night, the Agriculture Ministry announced. A 1-liter bag of 3% milk now costs NIS 3.45; a 250 gr. container of 5% white cheese, NIS 3.65; 100 gr. butter, NIS 2.30; and 5% cottage cheese, NIS 4.20. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

## Shahak visiting France

CHIEF of General Staff Lt-Gen. Arnon Lipkin-Shahak arrived in France yesterday for a working visit. The French Defense Ministry said Shahak, a guest of French armed forces chief Gen. Jean-Philippe Douin,

would visit French army, navy, and air force bases in Paris and the provinces and discuss military policy issues. The IDF said Shahak was accompanied by operations chief Maj-Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi. *Reuter*

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